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Diary of the Week.

IMPORTANT changes have occurred in the Cabinet. Earl Loreburn has retired from the Lord Chancellorship, and has been succeeded by Viscount Haldane, who is followed at the War Office by Colonel Seely. He again is replaced as Under-Secretary for War by Mr. H. J. Tennant, and a new recruit for the Ministry is found in Mr. Harold Baker. Sir Rufus Isaacs has been given a seat in "his Majesty's Cabinet," an unprecedented honor for the Attorney-General, and a reward for brilliant services in the field of politics as well as of law. Lord Loreburn's retirement is to be attributed solely to the state of his health; but, on the whole, the changes strengthen the moderate or Imperialist wing of the Cabinet, and practically obliterate the Gladstonian element. The Attorney-General now almost counts as a Radical, but the new Lord Chancellor was Lord Rosebery's fighting lieutenant all through the period of Opposition, and Colonel Seely, though open-minded and a brilliant speaker, has had no real training in the traditions and beliefs of Liberalism. He is a good administrator, and it is to be noted that when in Opposition he moved a large reduction in the numbers of the Army. The "Manchester Guardian" reflects gravely on the weakening effect of these changes, so far as traditional

Liberalism is concerned, and calls for the promotion of Mr. J. M. Robertson.

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LORD LOREBURN'S resignation represents the most serious personal loss which Liberalism has sustained since Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's death. He was a man of higher principle and finer temper than the average politician, and had a noble fidelity to the causes which appealed to his clear intellect and deep sense of right and good. His style, which was singularly pure in structure and easy of movement, reflected the winning simplicity of his character, and gave him considerable power over the most intractable and anti-Liberal of assemblies. He was not easy to move from his chosen path; and if he was right in refusing to open the magisterial bench to mere partisanship, he was wrong to forget that it had become almost a monopoly of Toryism. He proved an excellent judge, finding his way through thick masses of detail to just and tenable views. His judicial patronage was wisely and honorably exercised; and if he had had time he would have been a great reformer, and might have restored the waning popular respect for the efficiency and even-handedness of the law. The intellectual claims of his successor, Lord Haldane, are, of course, very high. Lord Haldane's gift is subtlety rather than strength—an astute accommodation to modern life rather than a definite presentment and criticism of it. He will prove at once the most artful and the most gentle of shepherds to the Lords, but he will not be so bold and advanced a political adviser to the Cabinet as was his predecessor.

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As we write, all the processes of conciliation set up by the Government, or attempted to be set up, for the settlement of the trouble in the Port of London have failed. On Monday, the Port Authority issued an official statement, on behalf of the employers, rejecting the scheme of federation as "absolutely impracticable," declaring that it contained no provision for the representation of non-unionist labor, and demanding a resumption of work as the preliminary of discussion. The men retorted on this uncompromising negative by recommending a strike of sympathy in all the national ports. The local unions have made a very partial response to this appeal. There have been stoppages of work more or less complete at Southampton, Bristol, Plymouth, and Swansea, but the Liverpool dockers firmly declined to rise.

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THE sailors and firemen have also held aloof, and, generally speaking, the Northern, Scottish, and Irish ports have refused to come in. Nor are the London port workers quite solid for the strike, an increasing number of men—running up to ten thousand—having been engaged. The strike leaders have again expressed their willingness to take a reasonable settlement. But the Government, we are afraid, have receded from their earlier efforts at federation, conducted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary, and have reverted to the old attitude of "keeping the ring," coupled with an inquiry into industrial agreements. This is out-of-date statesmanship. It can only postpone the

trouble, and inflame the quarrel between anti-unionist employers and unionist extremists.

MEANWHILE Mr. Bonar Law has made another of his plunges in policy. On Wednesday, Mr. Austen Chamberlain was put up to move a vote of censure on the Government for distinguishing between cases in which they were willing to give protection to free labor and others in which they thought it wise to withhold the police. This was an impeachment of Mr. McKenna's action in refusing to send a force to Purfleet to safeguard the landing of 400 "blacklegs" from Newport, carried in the "Lady Jocelyn," which is a transport boat for strike breakers. Mr. McKenna only repeated the action taken by Mr. Churchill and Lord Haldane in regard to the same boat in 1910. Mr. Chamberlain's line was to deny a "dispensing" or discretionary power in the use of police—a doctrine which would, of course, make the preservation of order impossible in every town in England.

His speech revealed a strong anti-Labor bias, and Mr. McKenna's answer was complete. He showed: (1) That free labor in the Port was perfectly protected; (2) that food supplies had been continuous; (3) that he had no direct control over the Essex area; and (4) that if he had backed the "provocative" action of the "Lady Jocelyn," a peaceful strike would certainly have been converted into a bloody and riotous one. The Opposition—who are beginning to follow the Parnell precedent of using violence and obstruction as deliberate tactics—were very noisy, and barely allowed a statement of the Government's case. The vote of censure was defeated by a majority of 77 (337 to 260), a result due not to Liberal abstentions, but to the accidental absence of Labor and Irish members.

THE Home Rule Bill has got into Committee, pre-faced by a manœuvre by the Opposition to divide it into two parts, that which sets up a Parliament for Ireland, and that which makes the consequent changes in the Parliament of England. This brilliant strategy was defeated by a majority of 102. A more serious controversy was raised by the small body of Whig Home-Rulers, who desire the exemption of Ulster or of the four dissenting Ulster counties. An amendment was moved by Mr. Agar-Robartes, and supported by four Scottish Liberals. The Ministerial answer was that the cutting off of part of Ulster would create a new minority grievance; that Ulster herself was silent on the proposal; that it would destroy the political power of Southern and Western Unionism; and that Ireland could no more be split in parts than England or Scotland. The Opposition practically refused to listen to a close and powerful argument on these lines by the Solicitor-General, which showed that, even under the Union, the conception of a single Ireland lay at the foundation of our law and politics. On Thursday Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Redmond both argued for the unifying of Ireland from different points of view, and the Chancellor put the case against the exemption of the four provinces with much power.

On Monday it was announced that the Tsar had commuted Miss Malecka's sentence to one of perpetual banishment from Russia. She was without delay escorted to the frontier, and is at length safely on English soil once more. The episode may be regarded as closed, and we see no reason to question the wisdom of Sir Edward Grey's decision to withhold the record of her trial, which he had undertaken to publish. The event shows, as the

Tchaykowsky incident had previously done, that when public opinion abroad is once sufficiently roused, a check can be put on the excesses of the Russian machine of repression. The agitation in this country was ably and resolutely conducted, especially by the "Daily Chronicle," and the Foreign Office realised rather tardily that strong action was required of it.

On Monday, the Home Secretary moved the second reading of the Mental Deficiency Bill, carefully minimising its provisions. But the two speeches in the debate, those of Mr. Wedgwood and Mr. Leslie Scott, were both hostile. We again criticise this perilous measure elsewhere, but we have no such objection to raise against the "White Slave Traffic Bill," which the Government have wisely taken over from the hands of Mr. Arthur Lee. It secured a second reading by consent. The capital provision of the Bill is that which enables the police to arrest procurers without a warrant, as to-day they can arrest poachers. It is notorious that this trade, and the promoters of it, have enormously increased in late years, and that London is one of its chief centres. It is, therefore, merely an act of civilisation to arm the police with some fresh powers, and the Home Secretary made it clear that they would not be used to set up the bad Continental policy of State regulation. At the same time, it may be well to remember the point raised by Dr. Ettie Sayers, in a letter to the "Times," that employers who pay girls 4s., 5s., or 6s. a week, and expect them to live on that wage, are doing quite as much to feed this trade as its miserable agents.

THERE is a new shower of honors, some of which are rewards for public services, while as to one or two others we can only maintain an astonished silence. If so good and staunch a Liberal as Sir Francis Channing desires a peerage, it is pleasant to see his name associated with that honor, Mr. Masterman's brilliant work on insurance is well commemorated by a Privy Councillorship, and Sir D. Brynmor Jones is an ideal recipient of that title. But this business of political rewards, with or without a consideration, is being so overdone that it is getting to be more of a distinction to be out of one of these lists than to be in it.

THE revision of the mandates of the delegates to the Republican Convention at Chicago has so far resulted in the exclusion of over two hundred claimants of Mr. Roosevelt's faction, while only one Taftite has been disqualified. Wholesale as this operation was, impartial onlookers do not seem to consider it grossly unfair. It is possible that Mr. Roosevelt's chances of a majority have now been dissipated. But on a closer analysis he has a serious grievance. The Taftite position rests on the votes of the Southern States, where no primaries were held and which send delegates to the Convention in proportion to their population, though they are solidly Democratic. Mr. Roosevelt's successes, on the other hand, were all in Republican States, and were all won by the direct vote at the primaries. He is as clearly the candidate of the Republican masses as Mr. Taft is the nominee of the party machine. The struggle is between the plebiscitary principle incarnated in an overwhelming personality, and the organised party with a respectable figure-head to lead it. The result, in spite of statistics, is quite uncertain. Mr. Roosevelt is prepared to "bolt," or, in other words, to head a third party, and confronted by that threat no one can predict how the Convention will act. Of the Democratic plans much less is known, but good judges consider that only Mr. Bryan

could hope to face, with any chance of success, the purely personal attraction of a Roosevelt candidature.

* * *

Two attempts at assassination betray the intensity of feeling in Hungary and Croatia. The Magyars are making their last stand for ascendancy, and their methods have provoked these desperate protests. M. Tisza, the President of the Diet, had expelled the greater number of the Opposition Deputies, who were obstructing the Army Bill by way of protest against the Government's delay or refusal of Franchise Reform. On Friday, M. Kovacs, one of the expelled Deputies, entered the Press Gallery, and fired repeatedly at M. Tisza, but missed him, and then attempted to commit suicide. The Army Bill and the new Standing Orders have both been passed by the Rump, and M. Tisza has received the congratulations of the King-Emperor. Meanwhile, a cordon of troops has excluded the expelled Deputies from the Parliament House, and the whole garrison of Budapest has been daily mobilised to keep order.

* * *

THE chief witnesses before the "Titanic" Commission during the week have been Mr. Edward Wilding, naval constructor in the service of Messrs. Harland and Wolff, Mr. Carlisle, consultant and adviser to the same firm, Sir W. J. Howell, Chief of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade, and Mr. Harold Sanderson, Liverpool manager of the White Star Line. Each made important admissions. Mr. Wilding corroborated our statement made at the time of the disaster that Mr. Axel Welin, the davit patentee, possessed plans for thirty-two life-boats, "and he thought there was a plan for three for each davit," which would have given the "Titanic" forty-eight life-boats. He further stated that there was no doubt of the boats being sufficiently strong to be lowered with the full number of passengers; "they were constructed to take sixty or seventy, and be swung out from the davits with that number." Mr. Wilding told Lord Mersey that the German requirements were ten per cent. in excess of the British, and that "the proportion of boat accommodation on the ships carrying the largest number of passengers was about the same as in the 'Titanic.'"

* * *

How inaccurate these statements are we demonstrated in "THE NATION" on April 27th. The table we then published showed that the North German Lloyd's "George Washington" had provision for every soul on an average trip, the "Kaiser Wilhelm II." for all save 5.3 per cent., the "Kronprinzessin Cecilie" for all save 1.54 per cent., the "Kaiserin Augusta Viktoria," of the Hamburg-American line, for all save 14.8 per cent., and the "Amerika" for all save 10.8, while the "Titanic" left 49.1 per cent. unprovided for on an average trip. This fact is easier to understand in view of Mr. Carlisle's statement that Mr. Ismay and his fellow directors discussed the "Titanic" decorations for four hours, while "the lifeboat affair, I suppose, took five or ten minutes." Mr. Carlisle declared he "considered there were not enough boats on the 'Titanic,'" and he had "said so over and over again." Mr. Harold Sanderson told Mr. Clement Edwards that the only reason for carrying boats at all on the "Titanic" was "for transfer purposes." He denied that boat provision was influenced by promenading needs, but we have it on high authority that but for these needs the "Titanic" would have sailed with thirty-two lifeboats. Sir W. J. Howell's contribution was that the main basis of lifeboat accommodation was the ship's tonnage, though "I cannot tell you why."

* * *

We are glad to see that the Home Secretary has

decided to make Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence first-class misdemeanants on a written assurance from them that they would not use their privileges to incite to illegal acts. This is, in our view, the only course open to a Liberal Home Secretary, and we have strong hopes that the same wise action will be taken as to the deportation of Signor Malatesta. His appeal has been rejected, but Mr. Justice Darling, in refusing it, admitted that there was no proof that he had ever done anything to "put in practice his opinions," or to "subvert society by violent means." Although Sir Charles Darling professed not to know what an anarchist was (we advise him to read an excellent article on the subject by Prince Kropotkin in the eleventh edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica"), this is a clear admission that Signor Malatesta is no criminal, and therefore no subject for deportation under the Aliens Act. Why, then, did the judge recommend deportation on the remarkable ground that Bellelli might be assassinated if Signor Malatesta were allowed to remain in this country? Who is going to assassinate him? Prince Kropotkin and other friends of an amiable if extreme thinker? And if Signor Malatesta has such violent friends, are they less or more likely to act against Signor Bellelli if Signor Malatesta is thrust out of this country and forced into an Italian gaol?

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"H. W. M." WRITES: The work of the Irish players has this week been concentrated on Mr. Lennox Robinson's "Patriots," and Lady Gregory's "The Jackdaw." The latter is a farce, played with the brilliant and rapid movement it requires, but a farce of character and life, rather than of stage convention, and therefore drawn from studies of eccentric national types, rather than of the grotesques of the theatre. My readers can imagine how this kind of suggestion reveals and develops the gifts of artists like Miss Allgood and Mr. Sinclair. "Patriots" is the prose commentary on the poetry of "Kathleen ni Houlihan"; the retrospect of the modern Irish Nationalist on the romantic side of the agrarian rising of the late 'seventies and early 'eighties. James Nugent, rebel and dreamer, returns from eighteen years of prison, to a practical shopkeeping Ireland, interested not in rifles, but in language, railroads, and the practical economy of a half-emancipated State.

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MR. SHAW, in "John Bull's Other Island," saw this vision of a business-like Ireland, half-regenerated and half-vulgarised by English gold. Mr. Robinson sees all that is sensible and all that is weak in Irish character, in the process of adapting itself to the new dispensation, ceasing to tend its soul's fire, but glad to feel its feet on mother earth. It does not do to think of the execution of such work—good as it is—in the same breath as of Synge's flights of poetic irony, and in rendering it, the Abbey company seem to lack color and freedom; nor do they move together as well as less gifted players are able to do. I should almost have said that the greyness of some of their subjects had got a little into their bones. But Miss Allgood is very fine, and I doubt whether the modern stage holds so droll a comedian as Mr. Sinclair. Manner is perhaps a trifle accentuated; but what expressive fun reveals itself in the actor's mock-serious eyes and the deliberate sing-song of his voice!

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WE shall publish next week an important article, entitled "The New Peril to India," dealing with the very grave situation in Indian defence opened up by the project of the Russo-Persian Railway.

Politics and Affairs.

THE NEW CABINET AND THE PARTY.

STUDENTS of Liberal politics will regard the retirement of Earl Loreburn from the Lord Chancellorship as a landmark of much significance. Lord Loreburn is not the last of the Gladstonian statesmen, for while Lord Morley is a member of the Cabinet, traditional Liberalism retains its most distinguished living representative. Mr. Harcourt also supplies a vigorous link between the Liberalism that dates from the great Ministry of 1868 and the Liberal-Radicalism whose career opened with the Campbell-Bannerman Government of 1905. But Lord Loreburn's retirement warns us that a chapter of our political history is closing, and that a new one has begun. The event, and its sequel in Lord Haldane's appointment, recall the striking circumstances under which Sir Robert Reid became Lord Chancellor of England. The nomination was the late Prime Minister's first act on succeeding to power. He meant by it to stamp out the secession once meditated by the Liberal League, and to signify his intention to be master in his own house. The League's candidate for the Chancellorship was Lord Haldane, and the League's policy was a *fainéant* Premiership in the House of Lords and a League leadership in the House of Commons. By his decision to remain in the Commons and to entrust the leadership of the Lords to one of his closest associates, the Prime Minister not only settled the balance of power in his Cabinet, but fixed the general line of Liberal policy both in South Africa and in domestic affairs. Foreign questions, indeed, passed out of his hands, and have finally assumed an aspect in which neither the opinions of Liberalism, nor the will of the people, so far as it has ever been manifested, exercise any controlling force. Once fixed to what Lord Rosebery calls the Continental system, the Foreign Minister of this country virtually becomes a member of a Board, and the special interests and feelings of Great Britain give place to the delicate manipulations of European bureaucrats. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman did not live to witness this development; and when he died, the inner government of the party was divided between the Liberal-Radical and the Imperialist groups. How does it stand to-day?

When Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman came to power, the Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor, the Secretary for India, the President of the Board of Trade, the President of the Local Government Board, the Secretary for Scotland, and the First Commissioner of Works were specially attached to the Gladstonian or to the Radical idea of politics, while the head of the Cabinet commanded a degree of personal affection in the Parliamentary party and in the rank and file outside which yielded him a practical dictatorship. His Government, however, was a coalition of two forces, and the Liberal League was specially represented by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Foreign Secretary, the Minister for War, and the Chancellor of the Duchy. This balance was not disturbed during his Premiership. Nor did Mr. Asquith's accession at once affect it. The claims of Radicalism were properly acknowledged by Mr.

Lloyd George's elevation to the Chancellorship, and the Prime Minister himself became a powerful agent in the policy of his brilliant lieutenant. His stewardship, at once prudent and loyal, recognised what was due to the historic ideas of Liberalism, to the fighting forces in the party, and to the political genius of their ablest champion. But as time went on, the centre of power began to shift. Social influences made themselves felt, appointments ran in a groove, and the feeling of comradeship, of a soldier's battle fought together, which "C. B.'s" Premiership and personal attitude never failed to suggest, began to decline. Of late, the struggle has been to keep the Government in touch with democracy. The Prime Minister has been an excellent head of the Cabinet. But "the russet-coated captains" have not been in evidence. A hard fight was necessary to secure Mr. J. M. Robertson a place even as the Under-Secretary of a not too important department. Men like Mr. Hobhouse and Mr. Pease, who represent respectable but by no means brilliant administrative talents, and no kind of popular force, found places in the Cabinet. Liberal Imperialism was reinforced by Mr. Runciman and Mr. Samuel. Mr. Churchill came in as a recruit from Conservatism. Lord Pentland was replaced. Now Lord Loreburn has gone, and Lord Haldane, the diplomatist of the Liberal League, succeeds him. Colonel Seely, a second ex-Conservative recruit, with no very definite record as a Liberal, steps into Lord Haldane's place. Sir Rufus Isaacs, who takes his seat in the Cabinet by Colonel Seely's side, might now be called an advanced politician, and his later interests in social politics balance his political training in the school of Imperialism. But as the Cabinet stands to-day, it contains one definite Radical, Mr. Lloyd George, two Gladstonian Liberals, Lord Morley and Mr. Harcourt, and Mr. Burns, who is a little difficult to classify, but who could not be called an Imperialist. The rest of the body bears the Imperialist stamp; the inner group which practically controls policy is Imperialist by a conclusive majority, and many of its members owe their parentage to that prolific mother, the Liberal League, which died in giving birth to a numerous and healthy progeny.

It would be unfair to conclude with a simple enumeration of the shifting of personal values in the Cabinet. If this were all, the Liberal Party would be ripe for the fate of National Liberalism in Germany. It would represent in the main the same tendency in ideas, the same disposition of forces. But in the interval between 1905 and 1912, our own Liberal Imperialism has moved on. It has recognised the social question. It has maintained the understanding with labor. It has adhered to Home Rule, and it accepted, if it did not welcome, the Budget of 1909. It has also steered clear of conscription. But the Government's foreign policy is pure Imperialism; it has advanced far beyond Lord Lansdowne's cautious approach to Continental engagements, it has increased armaments to a point unattained by any Tory administration, and, with the retirement of the Lord Chancellor, it has lost the chief advocate of the

great Liberal policy of freeing sea-borne commerce from assault during a naval war. These changes have taken place without a cataclysm, without a soldier's or a leader's revolt. They represent, in the main, the working of deep-lying forces of conservatism in English society and politics. The Prime Minister, who has been their chief instrument, has, in Cabinet, mitigated their seriousness by his support of the constructive social policy which alone has enabled Liberalism to face the future with hope. A great Indian policy has followed the capital success in South Africa, enforced by the personal will of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and has made smooth the path to Home Rule. The administration has been active, intelligent, and progressive. But the fact remains that the standing conflict with Germany, which the Government have accepted, has heavily mortgaged the fund for reform, and darkens the whole European sky.

We have suggested this analysis, not in order to revive old quarrels, but to point the obvious truth that the balance of strength in the Cabinet has, in the process of time, been heavily engaged on one side of Liberal opinions, and that in effect Radicalism, which stands to-day for its more thorough-going and idealist point of view, is almost excluded. Only one Radical statesman of the first rank appears in the Cabinet of 1912 against two such figures in the Cabinet of 1885. The retirement of the Lord Chancellor is in itself a very considerable loss to the cause of peace and of the improvement of Anglo-German relationships. But the re-constituted Cabinet marks on the whole a further step in the process of detachment from middle-class and democratic ideas, and a fresh swerve towards Imperialism, a visible tightening of social influences, and a weakening of the broad ties of sympathy and understanding which ought to link Liberalism—always inclining to wider and freer conceptions of State life and duty—to its governing personalities. It is not a good sign, for example, that a man of the people like Mr. J. M. Robertson, who is at the same time a scholar of European reputation, should have to stand at the gate of a Ministry that freely admits to its inner courts politicians of the very average stamp of Mr. Hobhouse and Mr. Pease. Nor is it a sufficient answer to these criticisms to say that men like Sir Edward Grey are democrats at home, whatever their conceptions of foreign policy, and the actual limitations of Liberalism in the field of diplomacy, may force them to be abroad, or that in Sir Rufus Isaacs the Cabinet receives a recruit of fine temper and genuine zeal for social reform. We must look to general tendencies; and we cannot think it wise to promote a brilliant young ex-Unionist like Colonel Seely to fill a place which would have been more properly reserved for a Minister of the tried ability of Mr. Samuel. We doubt whether the tradition of a civilian War Minister should, in any case, have been broken by a Liberal Premier with an ample reserve of administrative skill to draw upon. And with all respect for Mr. Asquith's services to Liberalism, and the qualities of intellect and temper which power has developed in him, we cannot think that he should be satisfied with his contribution to the task he took over from his predecessor to foster the pro-

gressive forces in Liberalism. Yet in times such as these, when elements of change and even of dissolution are in the air, the re-charging of the Liberal Party with fresh knowledge and feeling strikes us as a primary duty of a provident manager of its interests. No Liberal Prime Minister ought to be easy in his mind so long as the Anglo-German feud continues. And no statesman who watches the signs of the times should feel content until he has offered his country, both in his Cabinet and in all the ranks and conditions of political service, the richest provision of conscience and intellect, the widest resort to representative men and to vigorous and independent character, that the conditions of our statesmanship allow.

H. W. M.

STRIKERS AND STRIKE-BREAKERS.

To their initial fault of striking in breach of an agreement, the transport workers have added the blunder of failing to procure a general strike. Had they been able at a single stroke to produce a paralysis of trade in every port of the country, such action might at least have been capable of defence as militant tactics. But they should have been aware that no such simultaneous action was practicable. The grievances which underlie the London movement are peculiar to that port; there are no immediate urgent demands of labor in other ports, where employment has been abundant and earnings of late high. A purely sympathetic strike makes a feeble appeal in such a trade. Moreover, an immediate cessation of work involved a definite breach of agreement in several of the largest centres, and in others a breach of the trade union rules requiring a special ballot to authorise a strike. In face of such facts, an effective response to the London appeal was almost impossible. Though the strikers still preserve an attitude of hope, it is pretty certain that, even if in a few ports the ballot endorses the strike policy, nothing approaching a general stoppage is possible. Liverpool, Hull, and the Tyne, Tees, and Clyde solidly refuse to join, and even in South Wales, Swansea is the only port which has struck. Considerable disturbance has been caused in Southampton, Bristol, and Plymouth, but even in these ports the strike is far from general.

In London itself, though the complete strike of the lightermen has caused much embarrassment, and many valuable cargoes are damaged or imperilled by delay, the unloading is clearly on the increase. The employers appear thus, on the face of things, to be justified in their contention that, if the Government will maintain order, protect the introduction of "free labor," and refrain from any other "interference," the strike will be beaten. But is this a satisfactory termination to the conflict, from the standpoint of the public? We have fully admitted the errors of the workmen. But what of the employers? The Opposition in last Wednesday's debate airily set aside the strictures of Sir Edward Clarke upon the breaches of agreement on the part of employers, and the continuous grievances sustained by large bodies of workers on the wharves and in the lighter-boats. If the strike merely collapses, and the men go back upon the employers' terms, or on some merely face-saving

arrangement, all the past grievances will continue to rankle, and their number and intensity must grow. For such a settlement would be followed by a complete disorganisation both of capital and of labor. The employers' associations would be able virtually to impose their own terms of employment, and individual employers would be free to make or break any agreements they chose with complete impunity. Trade unionism would be crushed and discredited, and all endeavors of the Labor Exchanges effectively to decasualise and to place employment at the docks and river-side upon a satisfactory footing would be thwarted.

Such a condition of affairs would prove intolerable. The notion that after the workers have been "taught a lesson," they will settle down in obedient servitude is quite chimerical. Disintegration is no method of industrial peace, but quite the contrary. In their stubborn refusal even to consider the Government proposal of a Voluntary Joint Board, the shipowners have in reality declared war upon the principle of organisation established by the experience of every other fundamental trade as the absolute condition for the pacific co-operation of capital and labor. We cannot see how it is possible for the Government to acquiesce in this attitude of anarchy. If, as Conservative employers are the first to maintain, it is a prime duty of the Government to safeguard and secure the supplies of foods and other requisites of life and industry for the public, and if they are to use all the forces of the Crown in the performance of this task, they must insist that the capital and labor in the transport trades shall establish orderly intercourse, and not maintain conditions of internal anarchy which render the fulfilment of the public obligation impracticable. The failure of the strike, if it does fail, must be no signal for an abandonment of the proposals which the emergency evoked from the Government. The urgency for a solution along the lines proposed will be greater than ever. For the Shipping Federation challenges the whole policy of industrial organisation. Against it they set a complete reversion to an individualism discarded in every other great industry. They refuse to discuss terms with the Government, refuse to meet the representatives of the workers, refuse to bring pressure on recalcitrant employers, or to take any steps to facilitate the making or the keeping of collective agreements. At the same time, they and their House of Commons advocates demand that the whole forces of the Crown shall be diverted from the protection of ordinary citizens in their regular avocations so as to meet the riotous emergencies which they endeavor to provoke, and they assail the Home Secretary for refusing them a preference.

The reply of the Home Secretary and the Prime Minister to this attack was simple, crushing, and complete. The public force is limited in amount; it must be directed in its use with regard to the urgency of its need for the protection of life and property. Where property is concerned, food supplies are given a priority of claim, and special protection must be accorded, where necessary, to workers engaged in unloading and conveying these supplies. Happily, the strike has been conducted in a spirit of

sufficient reason to permit the easy passage of food. The claim on behalf of the "Lady Jocelyn" was for the diversion of force from the preservation of order and the protection of life to the promotion of disorder and the probable destruction of life. The "Lady Jocelyn" was a boarding-house for strike-breakers, kept for the purpose, not of moving surplus labor from the port where employment is full to the port where it is slack, but of bringing a body of irregulars to break a strike by taking the place of regular labor until it could be brought to terms. It was not seriously pretended that these men were wanted to undertake the regular work of unloading ships, or that there existed any employment which they were qualified to undertake. These strike-breakers are not average typical workers at all, but employers' mercenaries in a labor war. Their forcible introduction into the Port of London would undeniably have introduced an element of riot and of probable bloodshed into a strike unattended hitherto by any serious act of violence. Their "right" to police protection, formally existent, must be overridden by the prior rights of other peaceful citizens, and by the knowledge that the enforcement of such a right would lead to a state of disorder in which the "rights" of others would be seriously endangered. No more patently foolish exhibition of the principle and policy of so-called "free labor" could have been presented to the public mind.

THE CRIME OF BEING INEFFICIENT.

THERE is a preliminary question which must be answered before public opinion will know what view to take of the Home Office Bill for dealing with the feeble-minded. The text of the Bill suggests one interpretation, Mr. McKenna's speech quite another. Aware, as he clearly was, of the alarm which its provisions have aroused, he spoke modestly of its scope, recommended it as though it were little more than a scheme of departmental reorganisation, and sought to conciliate opposition by repeated offers to reconsider some of its provisions in Committee. There are, on his showing, a relatively small number of persons—he proposes to make financial provision at first for not more than 6,000—scarcely crazy enough to be treated as lunatics, nor responsible enough to be dealt with as criminals. The proper place for them is not the prison, the asylum, or the workhouse, and it is proposed that the State shall subsidise institutions in which they can be subjected to a detention which may, in favorable cases, be curative. If that were all that the Bill proposed, we should be content that its details should be subjected to a careful scrutiny. But no minimising speech can conceal the fact that this is a large and ambitious Bill. It is the first essay in legislation of the Eugenist School. It has its origin in a vicious theory of social development, and it embodies in its pages, not latent or concealed, but legible and conscious, an undermining of liberty, which threatens dangers to the community incomparably graver than the undisciplined lives and uncontrolled multiplication of the unfit. It is possible that much of the Bill, if it were to pass as it stands, might remain for some years a dead letter. There would be at first no organised attempt

to deal with the whole problem of inefficiency by restrictions on marriage, by disguised imprisonment, and by the degradation of the unfit to the level of a helot class, working for appointed "guardians," under servile conditions. But the Home Office would be armed with powers to inaugurate all these things. Tentative experiments would be undertaken as the Eugenic school grew in influence. There would be wanting nothing but the appointment of a doctrinaire Home Secretary, or an ambitious permanent official, to realise the whole menace with which the Bill is charged. It is an instrument with which, as grants increased, and theories hardened into lazily accepted dogmas, the lives of the poor may be assailed.

A careful study of the text of the Bill at all the points to which its advocates have invited our attention is far from modifying the opinion which a first perusal suggested. It begins with a singularly lax definition of the mentally deficient. A deficiency so serious that the State may remove the defective from his status as a free citizen ought to be a mental want so unmistakable that definite physiological or psychophysical tests would reveal it. The definition in the Bill is aimed, not at those just removed from what is technically idiocy, but at the whole class of the unfit. When it speaks of those who may, under favorable conditions, earn their living, but cannot compete on equal terms with their normal fellows, it starts not with a medical but with an economic test. It includes all the failures of our competitive society, all who cannot satisfy a standard of efficiency which the struggle for existence tends continually to raise. The shiftless, the casual worker, the tramp, the genius, and the willessly incompetent are all in danger. Having thus marked out a vast area for its operations, the Bill specifies the conditions under which a "defective" so defined will qualify for a discipline which will often, and perhaps usually, amount to imprisonment for life. We begin with defectives "found wandering"—a term which covers anything from the cases of temporary loss of memory occasionally reported in the press to the plight of the vagrant and the tramp. It goes on to persons in custody for a criminal offence, and a later clause expressly lays it down that a person so charged may be packed off to indefinite detention, even when no offence is proved against him.

There follow the habitual drunkard, and children whom the special schools for defectives have failed to render efficient at the age of sixteen. Here already is a comprehensive drag-net. But the two categories which next follow are so wide that they render any definition worthless. Persons whom it is desirable to "deprive of the opportunity of procreating children," and persons "in whose case circumstances exist which the Home Secretary by order specifies," may include, at the will of two doctors, a magistrate, and the officials at Whitehall, the whole "defective" population. The method of the Bill is to give a loose definition of deficiency, while supplying sundry external *criteria* of which some are definite. But when these *criteria* are scrutinised, they turn out to be as shifting and as vague as the definition itself. Assume that the cult of Eugenism and the zeal for efficiency makes way under official patronage among doctors,

magistrates, and relieving officers, and this Bill may be used to deprive of liberty and reduce to servitude any man or woman who can be accused of marked incompetence. It will suffice to say that they are "poor stock," "bad breeding material," "undesirable parents," and if they are also economic failures, their liberty is in graver peril than that of a Russian moujik or a Mexican plantation serf. The victim may be condemned in secret without the cognisance of any jury of his fellows, and it is only the rich who will value the privilege of pleading through counsel or appealing to the High Court. Motives other than meddlesome philanthropy and doctrinaire pedantry will be at work to fill institutions conducted for profit, and to provide "guardians" with serfs who cannot bargain for wages or change their masters. Of such a Bill we are not content to say that it must be drastically amended. If its intention went no further than Mr. McKenna's speech implies, its drafting in such a form is so misleading that no legislative chamber should be called on to work upon such a basis. But the Bill shows no traces of inadvertence. It looks like a harmless proposal for segregating idiots. It really is a first essay in the scientific breeding of the poor.

With the supporters of this Bill we are so far in agreement, that we demand the utmost zeal on the part of the State in dealing with the problem of mental deficiency. Every step in social reform which raises the standard of living among the poor is a contribution to its permanent solution. We should, moreover, welcome a more generous provision than any yet proposed towards schools for feeble-minded children, and institutions in which the hopelessly defective adult may be cared for. The prison and the workhouse are not his proper place. Nor do we object in principle to the compulsory segregation of a woman whose record shows her to be so hopelessly feeble-minded that she is the destined prey of every man who wishes to abuse her. But in no case ought this segregation to be imposed—for it is vain to pretend that it is not a penalty—save as a consequence of some actual lapse. If it follows a criminal charge, the charge must be proven. If it is meant to check the multiplication of children begotten of idiocy and brutality, we should require that the woman who is "segregated" should have given birth at least to one illegitimate child under conditions which, to the satisfaction of a jury, clearly reveal definite mental incapacity. Refuges there ought to be, provided by the State, to which defectives may retire, but we should prefer to see them established before we contemplate a plan to fill them by compulsion.

But the case against the theory which underlies this Bill is stronger and wider than our case against the Bill itself. The conviction that heredity is more important than environment in producing degeneracy is one which science has not established, and as some of our correspondents have pointed out, it thrives precisely in England where least has been done for the curative treatment of mental deficiency. The investigation of heredity is in its infancy, and its professors show the customary dogmatism of the popular pioneer. We question any generalisation about the connection of heredity

with mental deficiency, for the simple reason that it is impossible, in collecting data and statistics, to isolate the two factors. Bad heredity is almost necessarily associated with bad environment. The child of a defective mother is nearly always reared under the worst possible conditions of care, education, nutrition, and housing. Even if statistics showed that in nine cases out of ten a defective child had a defective mother, it would still be possible to argue that the cause of the deficiency was in the environment, and could be removed by proper care. Even so extreme a theory as this is tenable, and two sets of facts go to confirm it. One is the conclusion that lay on the surface of the immensely instructive tables collected by the Charity Organisation Society in one of the elementary schools of Edinburgh. These tables showed an almost invariable correspondence between the condition of the children in physical measurement, physical defects, and normality of the senses, and the degree in which their environments were favorable, when tested by their housing conditions. Bad environment, roughly measured by an over-crowded home, almost always meant also defective senses, dull intelligence, and low vitality. The other set of facts which we have in mind is the almost miraculous experience of Dr. Maria Montessori during the two years when this brilliant physician and pedagogue had charge of the schools for the mentally defective children in Rome. By a combination of special gymnastics, medical care, and the novel pedagogic method explained in a volume of which an English translation appears opportunely this week ("The Montessori Method," Heinemann), she was able so to educate children who were originally little better than idiots, that at the end of the process they actually competed successfully in the ordinary branches of education with normal children in the Roman elementary schools. With such evidence as this before us, it is premature to conclude that the salvation of the race lies in sterilising its degenerate stocks. The real enemy of human development is the bad environment which social politics attempt too slowly and too partially to transform. It is the despair of impatience which would "segregate" the mother, when we ought rather to reform the nursery. The short cut to efficiency through the back-yard of the house of detention would leave us still the slum and the sweating-den where "deficiency" is bred. The race would still degenerate, and degenerate no less swiftly because liberty had gone.

THE TREND OF FOREIGN POLICY.

VI.—THE MORAL OF THE MALECKA CASE.

THE release of Miss Malecka crowns with success an agitation which had roused public opinion to a rare unanimity and concern. It is also, so far as the records are known, the unique success for British diplomacy since its intimate relationship with Russia began. It was said, even by those who have been the warmest partisans of the Russian connection, that if the Tsar's Government had persisted in the vindictive punishment of this lady for an offence of opinion, the cordiality of British sentiment towards official Russia would have

turned to coldness. We do not question that statement, but the assumptions which underlie it invite analysis. There are two ways of regarding this case. Miss Malecka is a British subject, and a failure to consider British opinion in her case would have involved a churlish refusal to oblige a diplomatic associate. If nothing more than this narrow and egoistic issue was at stake, the incident may be regarded as closed. We made a request to the Tsar, and the request has been granted. But Miss Malecka was, from the Russian standpoint, simply a Polish "intellectual" assailed by an accusation and threatened with a fate which are commonplaces in the daily life of Poland and Russia. Her decent treatment in prison, her release on bail, and her public trial constituted a rare element of legality and leniency, and her sentence was no more severe than is usual. A secret trial or a sentence by administrative process would have been her fate if she had had no English associations behind her.

Unless our concern was solely for our national self-esteem, we cannot forget that this single vivid incident has illuminated the whole normal life of our friend and partner. For precisely the same crime of which Miss Malecka stood accused—association with a party whose programme involves a fundamental change in the Russian State—thirty-five members of the Second Duma are enduring the rigors of a criminal imprisonment, with life-long detention in Siberia as its sequel. They went to their doom amid no chorus of protest from Englishmen, and we hear from time to time only that an orator who once defied Stolypin from the tribune of the Duma has been flogged in gaol, that another has been driven insane, while a third and fourth have died under the unspeakable conditions of these typhus-ridden gaols. Famous and obscure, young and old, workmen and intellectuals, women and men, the comrades of Miss Malecka who do not happen to be British subjects are enduring in their thousands for no better cause the fate which she escaped. Our influence, the liberalising influence which was to have flowed from lending money to the autocracy and sharing with it in the partition of Persia, is confined in fact to the occasional rescue of an individual from the general oppression.

There has been no perceptible development towards liberty during the period of the *entente*. Rather is it the fact that the promise which seemed to be dawning has been falsified and checked. There was a Parliament elected by a relatively Liberal franchise. There is now only a servile Duma that rests on a gerrymandered electorate. Finland was free; it is to-day a province in process of absorption. The third Duma has indeed run its inglorious course, but it has placed on the statute-book no single law which makes even a beginning in the recognition of the fundamental liberties of the subject. The old suppression of parties—even the Liberal "Cadets"—are an illegal body—the old denial of the right of association, the old prohibition of public meetings, the censorship of the press, the system of administrative exile, the tyranny of a secret police which resembles some criminal secret society, the practice of torture and flogging in gaol, the systematic legal persecution of the Jews—all these familiar features of

the Russian State are to-day as flagrant in their medieval barbarity as they were when first the Tsar promised the October Constitution. A clever pleader might mention here and there an isolated sign of progress, which an honest expert would balance by quoting no less significant evidences of a positive retrogression.

It would be much if we could even say of the influence of British connection on the internal politics of Russia, that it has been innocent and negative. The one definite good effect which its apologists may plausibly claim for it, is that it probably did help to stop the official organisation of Jewish massacres. But this single instance only serves to illustrate the limits of our influence. The Russian Government will observe a certain prudence in adopting sensational methods of repression which might weaken or destroy the understanding, but they compensate themselves by discovering expedients for achieving their end which are less dramatic but even more effectual. The elaborate legal and economic persecution of the Jews, incomparably worse in its steady, slow, and massive effects than an occasional pogrom, the restrictions on their residence, education, and trading rights, have been rendered in recent years more oppressive, more arbitrary, and more effective than they ever were before. The balance of our effect on Russian development has been positively harmful. It began to work at the crucial moment when everything hung in suspense. In the first months of 1906, just before the first Duma met, the autocracy was in dire financial straits. The patience of the French investor was exhausted, and neither the banks nor the French Foreign Office were willing alone to assume responsibility for the hundred million loan. It lay with us to float it or postpone it. Had we chosen in March to wait until May, when the Duma met, and to make our participation in the loan conditional on the Duma's ratification, we should have placed in the hands of Professor Miliukoff and the Parties of the Left, an irresistible weapon of control. In vain they urged this course upon us. In vain they reminded us that only a people which can hold the purse-strings of its rulers can hope to impose its will upon them. Under the influence of our own diplomatic calculations, the loan was floated in London, and the autocracy met the Duma with a full war-chest. It is true that our Foreign Office has no such statutory control over the City as obtains in France. It needs none. The facts themselves demonstrate how closely the City follows the policy of Downing Street. Loans to Russia were not infrequent before 1854. They ceased with the Crimean War. They began again only in 1906, after Sir Edward Grey had announced his policy of "restoring Russia to her rank as a Great Power." From that day onwards a steady stream of capital has flowed to Russian undertakings—national, municipal, and industrial. We now share the responsibility of France as the banker of Tsardom. In all our thinking about the place of Russia in Europe, in all our dealings with her over Persia, it is this financial nexus which has been the unnoticed but still dominant consideration. Russia depends as absolutely as any South American Republic upon European finance, and, so depending, she is at the mercy of European opinion, if it were but organised.

Sir Edward Grey found Russia a bankrupt anarchy, a staggering chaos. He has made her once more a great Power. By royal courtesies he has restored her social status, by diplomatic support he has enhanced her national prestige. Unable to rebuild her navy or even to reorganise an army hopelessly inefficient when judged by Continental standards, she has been made none the less a make-weight in the European balance. She has even been able to expand, and to add to her sphere of influence two-thirds of Persia and all Northern Mongolia. We know the excuses which can be made for this policy. Would we go to war, we are asked, to check her expansion in Persia, or to end her oppressions at home? Or would we allow her, by reason of our unfriendly and self-righteous attitude, to fling herself into the arms of Germany and to add her forces, such as they are, to a combination directed against us? The answer to both questions is that those who frame them ignore the fundamental facts in the structure of the modern world. Russia is first of all a borrowing Power, and until she has arranged her borrowings, everything else in her policy must be fluid and conditional. She wants Persia, she has appetites and prejudices to satisfy at the expense of Finns, and Socialists, and Jews. But Persia is a luxury. Her prime necessity is the foreign capital which alone balances her budgets and fertilises her industry. To obtain this she made the Dual Alliance, and to secure it she made the Triple Entente. It is childish to talk of going to war with her; all the gains of a victorious war, with none of the costs, can be secured by checking the flow of capital. It is idle to talk of driving her into the arms of Germany. The Tsar might meet the Kaiser, the Berlin police might expel Russian exiles, there might be coquettings and even treaties. But Germany cannot perform the one service which Russia expects from an ally. She cannot lend her money. The French market was exhausted, save on the condition that ours would share the risk. A few odd millions might have been picked up in Belgium. But London and Paris alone can supply the large needs of Russian State finance and Russian industrial development. In this monopoly and in the imperative needs of Russia, the diplomacy of London and Paris had the weapon which it might have used in 1906 to launch the Duma on a successful career, and in 1911 to save Persia from a final absorption in the Russian system. It did not use it, and we incline to the view that it never thought of using it. It does not understand the modern world in which it is groping with the mental equipment and the obsolete traditions of a dead and vanished century.

The course of our dealings with Russia has been vitiated from first to last by our failure to perceive or to use this modern weapon. Our diplomacy acted on the assumption, which evidently was its sincere belief, that we were suitors for Russian favor. It wanted her aid (or even her neutrality) so acutely in its dealings with Germany, that it failed to notice how much more acutely Russia needed our financial backing. The result has been what might have been expected. Our diplomacy has been worsted at every turn in the encounter of wits. It has given what Russia wanted

most—money, and thrown in what she wanted next—Persia. But it has not obtained in return the political services on which it reckoned. Russia is the most detached of the three partners to the *Entente*, and less the ally even of France than she was when the period began. Why trouble about the Paris Bourse when the London Exchange is open? She made her terms with Germany at Potsdam, and rather insolently gave us the other day in M. Sazonoff's speech to the Duma the good but cynical advice to follow her example. For practical purposes the association which really counts in her policy is the sinister and rather mysterious partnership which she has lately contracted with Italy. That bodes no good to Turkey, and it cannot be welcome to any Power which desires the peace of the East. To perceive these facts is to perceive also that the whole calculation which led us into our association with Russia has broken down. She has not served us in our efforts to maintain a balance in Europe against the German Powers, or if at one time she served us, that time is ended. The whole policy of the balance has failed, and left us with the alternative of forming a military alliance with France or else of making terms with Germany. We have not shone in our efforts to imitate Real-Politik. For this incompetent essay in a statecraft which took no account of political sympathies and the rights of the Persian people, we have sacrificed our instincts and sullied our good name. An honest policy which had simply declined Russian intimacy, or a stronger policy which knew how to use the financial weapon, would have lost nothing which subservience has gained.

THE TRUE MISSION OF ANGLICANISM.

THE Bishop of Hereford possesses in an exceptional degree a quality seldom found among ecclesiastics—sincerity. This is why his utterances carry weight. There are bishops who see as clearly the direction in which life and mind are moving, and whose personal opinions and sympathies do not in all probability differ very materially from his. But they are timid and influenced by their environment; the studied nullity of their pronouncements inspires sincere men, who take serious things seriously, with impatience and distrust. It would take a stronger environment than that of the episcopate to influence the Bishop of Hereford; and no one has ever accused him of timidity. A survival from a time when the English clergy were not a caste, he has more in common with bishops of the type of Tait and Thirlwall than with the professionalised prelates of to-day. His Charge, published under the title of "The Church and the Nation" (Macmillan), is a document of the first importance. And this importance is mainly due to its sincerity. The Bishop says what every sensible man knows to be true.

In the industrial unrest of to-day he sees neither lawlessness nor materialism, but the symptom of a social development "destined to affect profoundly the general conditions of English life." As such he treats it. The mission of the Church, he conceives, is national and all-embracing. She stands not so much for Anglicanism, in

the denominational sense of the term, as for English Christianity. The material welfare of the nation cannot, then, be indifferent to her: "the work of social betterment, on which the moral and spiritual so largely depend," is her peculiar care. The reason why this is not more generally recognised is (1) that "our clergy, under the influence of the revival of the last seventy years, have given more attention to the priestly view of their office and ministry than to the prophetic, or pastoral"; and (2) that, while "our natural place, when differences arise between class and class, is not in the camp of the wealthy and of the capitalist, we (clergy) are, in fact, so situated that we are, as a class, very liable in time of controversy between rich and poor, between capitalist and working man, to be drawn in sympathy and opinion and in our whole outlook on the questions at issue away from the classes struggling upwards for betterment, and to the side of the property-owning and privileged classes." It is well that this should be said, and said with authority. The weak point of English Liberal theology is its tendency to become academic; and of late there have been signs of this tendency in quarters where we might have expected better things. There is no road this way. Liberalism is neither a dogma nor an anti-dogma, but an outlook over life. And a Liberalism which confines itself to a criticism, however valid a criticism, of religious beliefs and institutions has, and deserves to have, no future; criticism must be taken, or left, as a whole. It is as powerful and as revolutionary a leaven in ethics, in economics, in political and social science as it is in religion; and in each of these provinces its analysis is but preparatory, a condition of a construction to come. Arnold and Kingsley proclaimed this; it is "the kings of modern thought" who "are dumb." A moral even more than an intellectual paralysis, it seems, has smitten them; they "wait to see the future come." The attitude may be carried to an excess. The future comes by human effort; history is made by men. "We do not sufficiently realise," the Bishop reminds us, "the extent to which this attitude of mind sets up a barrier between us and the working classes and their leaders, and cuts us off from their confidence." It is not meant that economic questions can be decided by sentiment, or that those who are not experts should pronounce on technical detail. What is meant is that the moral question is part and parcel of the economic; and that the latter cannot be dealt with while the former is ignored. To say that the problems raised are international is true, but irrelevant as a pretext either for their dismissal or indefinite postponement; the Socialist bogey can deceive only those who wish to be deceived. The circumstances of each having materially altered, the contract between Labor and Capital is being revised. The revision works, inevitably and rightly, in the interests of Labor. If the Churches shut their eyes to this, so much the worse for the Churches; class Christianity is insincere. "A living wage for the worker ought to be the first charge on all industry. Moreover, the working population, growing in education and intelligence, and feeling more acutely the burdens, uncertainties, and anxieties of their position, should have our moral support in claiming as a

matter of justice, as they do claim through their leaders, that our inherited land monopoly should give way to something more equitable, that wealth should be more equally distributed, and that the unwholesome slums of our cities, and the wretched cottages still to be found in so many of our rural parishes, should give way to decent conditions of family life."

The proposed Disestablishment of the Welsh Church is being discussed in clerical circles with a bitterness exceptional even among clergymen. The revised version of "He that will be saved must thus think of the Trinity," is "He that will be saved must thus think of tithe." The real point at issue is simple enough: Is Wales to be treated as a small area or as a nation? If the former, a case, though a bad case, can be made out for the establishment of an Episcopalian Church among a non-episcopalian people. If the latter, only one course is open to the defence—"abuse the plaintiff's attorney." It has been adopted. Whether in the long run such tactics will not recoil on those who have employed them remains to be seen. "The Welsh people have again and again pressed their claim through their representatives in Parliament; consequently (says the Bishop), for my own part, I feel bound to acquiesce in their demand as one which we cannot in justice refuse." On Liberal principles no other view is conceivable; it is probable that the next generation will be amazed that any question with regard to it can have been seriously raised. The English Church is impossible in Wales for the same reason that it was impossible in Ireland. The principle of Establishment is not affected. Its application is a matter of circumstances. The cases of England and Wales are not parallel, and it is the worst possible policy to identify them. *Mortua quin etiam jungebat corpora vivis*; this were to associate the living with the dead. Meanwhile, we can but deplore the bad temper and bad taste that have been roused by the controversy. "The offensive and abusive language which is being used by many Church people against the authors of the Bill and those who support it, reflects discredit on those who adopt or condone it, and does real harm to the best interests of our Church." Particularly deserving of notice is the grave indictment of the so-called "religious" press. "It is one of the present misfortunes of our Church that these prints, so charged with *odium theologicum*, so ready to vilify those who differ from them, so active in fomenting ecclesiastical party spirit, so essentially irreligious in their tone, should be the chief weekly reading of so many of our clergy and their families, and should exercise so wide an influence over clerical sentiment and opinion." The Bishop's words will be spoken in vain to the journals in question; Pharaoh's heart is hardened. But they may recall the better-minded among their readers to "a more excellent way."

The closing section of the Charge discusses the relation between Churchmen and Nonconformists. The Bishop, who does us the honor of referring in this connection to certain recent remarks of "THE NATION," points out that "reunion with Rome could mean nothing but submission to Rome; that the natural allies of the English Church are the Reformed Churches; and that it is on her relation to these that her future must

depend." Acting upon this belief, which was that of Anglican theology from Hooker to Tillotson, and taking perhaps too literally the appeals for unity made by three successive Lambeth Conferences, Dr. Percival, it will be remembered, invited his Nonconformist friends and neighbors to a joint communion on the occasion of the Coronation. It will be remembered also with what a chorus of protest, in and outside Convocation, this wise and Christian action was received. Faction and fanaticism raved in concert; the weak bent before the storm. The Bishop is impenitent. "So long as we bar the way to the Holy Table against those whom, it may be, we effusively call our brethren in Christ, our professions of brotherhood have in them the taint of unreality, and are insincere."

Neither what is called the Church party nor the Church press is accustomed to such language from such a quarter; the times are changed since the Arian Prefect, remonstrating with Basil, "No one ever yet spoke to Modestus with such freedom," was met by the answer, "Perhaps Modestus never yet fell in with a bishop, or surely he would have heard like words." And it requires greater courage to face the professing friend than the avowed opponent; the foe without is less to be feared than the foe within. But the Church has no truer friend and no more sagacious counsellor than the scholarly and enlightened prelate who, while men of more pliant mould have made their way to higher places, has been left by successive Ministries in the dignified retirement of his remote Western See. For he represents the larger and nobler of the ways to whose parting, it seems, she has come. The call of Empire, it has been said, is in her ears; she may hear it and follow; she may be deaf to it and refrain. In other words, she may resign herself to the position of sectarian Anglicanism, or she may rise to her higher calling and take her stand for English Christianity as a whole. In the former case, "Abide ye here with the ass" will be her programme. She will rest on her past; she will appeal to the stationary elements of society—the uneducated, the unintelligent, those who for one reason or another stand outside the main stream. She will continue to influence the imagination and sentiment of a section of the nation; she will probably approximate more and more to medieval doctrine and ceremonial; by her claim, disputable as it is, to be (in the sectarian sense of the word) Catholic, she may retain a handful of enthusiasts whose natural gravitation is towards Rome. But this road leads nowhere. A Church which takes it may be long in dying, but is in the way to die. On the other, a great, a very great, destiny awaits her—the furtherance and leadership of the religious life of the English people at home and beyond the seas. Her characteristic "Via Media" is not, and is not likely to become, a middle term between Rome and Protestantism; the changes that are taking place in Latin Christendom do not look her way. But the "least reformed" of the Reformed Churches, and inheriting the political genius of the nation to which she owes her distinctive features, she may unite for her own people the best elements of the old order and of the new. Should it be so, it is not England only that will be the gainer; the "*vasti luminis orbe* will receive increase."

Life and Letters.

THE MACHINE IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

A RECENT remark of ours that the over-elaboration of the mere machinery of American politics has done much to impair the efficiency of American statesmanship, appears to have been widely, sometimes favorably, usually unfavorably, commented upon in the United States. It is curious that more Americans do not recognise, what to a foreign and friendly observer seems very clear, that one of the prime defects of their political system is precisely this excessive multiplication of arbitrary devices and the habit of regarding them as an end in themselves. The whole American Constitution is in a way an ingenious conspiracy for doing nothing; the energy which under the British or Cabinet form of government is devoted solely to legislation being largely frittered away in the United States in friction between the various authorities that were created to check and balance, and have come in fact almost to neutralise, one another. Americans, again, have always been too apt to regard the suffrage as the essence of democracy. So long as they were free to vote at recurring periods for a multitude of short-term officers, they have persuaded themselves that little more was needed to fulfil the amplest ideal of popular government. They have always had a tendency to deify the ballot-box, to think more of success at the polls than of efficiency in office, to regard the problems of government as solved when they had selected one set of candidates to office in preference to another set, to spend their energies on choosing their representatives and then to forget to watch over them, to pay too much attention to who is to do the work and too little to how it is being done, and to sleep with the comfortable assurance of a public duty adequately performed from the eve of one election-day to the dawn of the next. They have never properly realised that democracy is criticism, is control, is an alert and informed public opinion, and is not really machinery at all. Whenever anything has gone wrong, their instinct has been to put it right by some purely superficial readjustment, some legislative expedient, some amendment of the external accessories of government. For every evil, no matter what its nature or origin, they either have recourse to the Statute-book or else proceed to exalt the executive at the expense of the legislative power in order to safeguard democracy against itself.

In all other relations of life, a direct and trenchant people, the Americans delight in being tortuous and roundabout in their politics. Their motto seems to be that two or three elections should always be made to do the work of one. A burden has thus been laid upon universal suffrage that the average, busy, well-intentioned, but not over-zealous citizen is quite unable to support, and that has in fact been taken off his shoulders by organised hosts of professional politicians. The entire nominating system, from the "primary" meeting to the District or State Convention, and thence to the National Convention, has fallen into the hands of the Bosses through the sheer necessities of the case. The ordinary man cannot or will not spare the time to attend to it; and though in theory it strictly conforms to democratic principles, and though not a step is taken that could not claim the sanction of "the will of the majority," in practice it is controlled from beginning to end by men who make politics a means of livelihood, and who manipulate its complexities in their own interests. It was in the hope of restoring a direct influence to the people, and of enabling them to declare unmistakably which candidates they wished to represent them in the contest for the White House, that the "Presidential primary" was invented. But so far this device has only been adopted in about a third of the States, it has failed to "bring out the vote" to the extent anticipated, it has not evoked a clear expression of the will even of those who did vote, and while undoubtedly it has stimulated popular interest, it has also added enormously to the turmoil and expense of a Presidential

campaign. For the past four months the Government of the United States has been practically at a standstill, and all the efforts of the Administration have been concentrated on "rounding up" delegates for Mr. Taft. The circumstances of the present contest are, no doubt, exceptional; it has never before happened that a President and an ex-President have fought one another for the party nomination. But it is worth insisting that, whenever there is a serious struggle between powerful candidates for the party leadership, what has happened during the present year is likely to recur. That is to say, there will be an internecine warfare inside the party ranks, spreading over the whole continent, consuming from four to six months, agitating and distracting the public mind, involving all the stress and heat of a Presidential campaign, and settling at the end but one issue—the choice, namely, of a single party candidate for the Presidency. That is an excellent instance of what we meant by talking of the over-elaboration of the machinery of American politics. Unless Americans devise means of simplifying their electioneering procedure, they will soon find that one year out of every four will be devoted to nothing else.

Next Tuesday, the Republican Convention, to which the campaign of the past few months has been a mere preliminary, will assemble at Chicago. Over a thousand delegates will be present, and some ten thousand spectators will assist at their deliberations, if they can be called deliberations. As a matter of fact, the delegates at an American nominating Convention, like the electors in whose name they profess to be acting, are for the most part dummies. The real directing power is in the hands of a few men who are long practised in the arts of managing these unwieldy assemblies, who are skilled in the bargains and deals and combinations that will carry their candidate to victory, who can feel the pulse of the meeting and know by instinct when to bring him forward and when to hold him in reserve. The main functions of a Convention are to settle on the party candidate and to draw up the "platform" on which he is to run. The "platform" which is usually adopted by the Committee appointed to frame it is one of the many things in American politics that are not what they seem. Its avowed purpose is definition; its actual characteristic is evasion. Composed at intolerable length, with vast care and an infinity of verbal hair-splitting, it pretends to announce the policy of the party on the issues of the day, while it deftly contrives either to give those issues the slip, or to wrap them round in a mesh of cloudy platitudes. The ideal platform-framer is the man who can say nothing in the most emphatic and stirring language. He is satisfied if his handiwork is hurrahed through the Convention. From time to time it may indeed happen—it may happen at next week's Convention—that the platform really represents something. But, as a rule, it is merely a tissue of generalities, an acrobatic movement around questions that it is inexpedient to confront. The real interest of a Convention centres on the choice of the party candidate, and when two or more evenly-matched aspirants are in the field and the balloting is prolonged, only a Stock Exchange when a corner breaks presents a more dramatic spectacle. The manœuvres and intrigues, the factitious "demonstrations," the frank appeal to the five senses, the whole atmosphere of hysteria and passion, the clagues in the galleries, the unstable psychology of all vast and tumultuous concourses, make the comparison with the Stock Exchange during a panic appropriate in more ways than one. "It is blind chance," says M. Ostrogorski, "which has the last word. The name of the candidate for the Presidency of the Republic issues from the votes of the Convention like a number from a lottery."

POT-SHOTS AT UTOPIA.

By common consent Mr. Shaw and Mr. Wells are our most provocative writers. Both of them have utilised a profession of scientific socialism as a cover for an intensely individualistic propaganda.

The very notion that either of them could live as comrades on easy terms of continual co-operation with others for the regular provision of the material requisites of life, with all the spiritual concessiveness which such a community would demand of its members, is too absurd to be seriously entertained. Indeed, both are so well aware of this that their social speculations have all along taken the turn of a search for a sort of social structure in which their revolt against the follies and iniquities of the existing order shall be resolved into a new order capable of affording a sphere of practical influence and control adequate to the directing wisdom which they are conscious of possessing. The preposterous rights of property of the present possessing classes must be cancelled, the inhuman wage-slavery on which they were founded must be replaced by a lighter, securer, better-regulated industry, the wasted powers of modern science must be utilised for the material benefit of all. But the main end of these processes of essentially external reforms will be, not to widen and intensify the social feelings by common labors for the common good, but to provide the economic means enabling men of strong idiosyncrasies to live a separate life, following each his individual fancies without bothering to consider what his neighbors think or feel. The Super-man, conscious of his wisdom and fertility of mind, will thus be provided with two spheres of self-realisation. The organisation of the common work will fall to him, whatever be the forms of government in the new society, and this will satisfy his craving for prominence and control of his fellow men. In the large private sphere of freedom he will also now for the first time be able fully to indulge the private tastes and experiments in ways of living that are at present subject to various sorts of vexatious interference and restraint. Such, in general terms, has been the dream which has drawn into social revolt and utopian reconstruction many of the last generation of intellectuals, following the lead of these two prophets.

We hasten, however, to discriminate between the two leaders and their leading. Both have carefully conserved the interest of a Problem-man. But the problems are of a different order. In the one case it centres round the question, "What is the real Shaw?" or, more subtly, "Is there a real Shaw?" In the other case the question is "What is the next Wells?" For Mr. Wells has adopted a different economy of spiritual self-exploitation from that of Mr. Shaw. He has laid himself out in a careful succession of periods, winding out of his internal resources an apparently unfailing supply of new personalities which he projects upon a large literary canvas for the profit or amusement of his public. We say "profit or amusement" because, speaking honestly, we do not feel sure how far Mr. Wells takes himself seriously as a social teacher, or how far he is simply interested and excited, like his own readers, in the process of digging out from a teeming subconsciousness the new edition of H. G. Wells. Utopianism is the literary method he employs for thus exhibiting his quick changes of emotional valuation. Nearly all his books are made to serve, in various fashions and degrees, this craving, even his narrative and critical fiction, such as "Kipps" and "Tono Bungay"; everywhere the restless burrowing of an intensely introspective personality is at work, suggesting new large interpretations of life and its purposes. His bolder romances, importing some new external condition into life, are mainly excursions into social criticism which evade refutation by assuming the cloak of fiction. But it is fair to add that Mr. Wells has never lacked courage, and though his cloak of fiction has sometimes embarrassed his enemies, it has not been adopted for the purpose of concealment, but as the appropriate literary form for a thinker who must always visualise in detail and externalise his problems.

The phase or period into which we enter now with this volume of essays introduced and edited by Mr. Wells, "The Great State" (Harpers), may be described as that of anti-Fabian. His career in Utopianism is a quite intelligible one, bearing in mind our personal premisses. His keen, quick intelligence, trained in the physical sciences, highly sensitive to human faults, but insuffi-

ently sympathetic with human follies, set itself to the art of social reconstruction in a hard, dogmatic, and superior temper. What was essentially the matter with the world was stupidity. The government of all things, great or small, must be handed over to the few who knew, the intellects trained in the useful pivotal sciences of mechanics, chemistry, physics, and so forth. In a "deliquescent" society like ours, the only salvation was obedience of the stupid many, rich and poor alike, to the expert, who, if he were allowed a free hand, would turn out benevolent enough as well as able, and his despotism could be concealed or tempered with some feints of the general will. The great desideratum was a thoroughly sound and economical organisation of the physical resources of the country: rapid transport and Eugenics were to be the pillars of the State, together with a masterly system of central book-keeping, with Mr. Wells planning the radiation of great roads from commercial London to a larger London dotted over the entire South, and Mr. Wells with his fingers on the dossier of each citizen, able to tell exactly where he was and what he was doing, and Mr. Wells inciting desirable parents to new experiments in the family. But this sort of scheme was soon found too mechanical, and was wiped out by another in which the expert was endowed with finer moral traits, and in which the humanity, so lacking in the earlier sketch, was laid on fairly thick; character was to play at least an equal part with intellect in the selection of rulers, who were to sustain an austerity of will by special discipline of exercises and abstinences.

This all belonged to the period when the Fabian spell was working. There were clear signs of an awaking from this spell in the rather incoherent politics of "The New Machiavelli." The present volume marks a complete breach with Fabianism and a vigorous repudiation of all its works. None of the expert servile state for Mr. Wells! "Bureaucratic schemes for establishing the regular lifelong subordination of a laboring class, enlivened though they may be by frequent inspection, disciplinary treatment during seasons of unemployment, compulsory temperance, free medical attendance, and a cheap and shallow elementary education, fail to satisfy the restless cravings in the heart of man." Rather than this, give us the renovated "Normal Social Life" as conceived by Mr. G. K. Chesterton and Mr. Belloc, "a conception of vinous, loudly-singing, earthy, toiling, custom-ruled, wholesome, and insanitary men." But we are not really driven back on this conservatism, or upon the planless progress of the ordinary Radical or Socialist. For there remains the realisation of "The Great State." Now we hasten to say that in the thin and extremely literary presentation of "The Great State" by Mr. Wells himself there is much with which we stand in profound sympathy. With him we repudiate the progress which may mean in practice "the development of a managing caste in permanent conspiracy, tacit or expressed, against the normal man," an exceedingly real peril to an unintelligent democracy. With him we desire "an economic method without any specific labor class." Indeed, were it attainable, we cannot hope for a more desirable solution of the labor problem than he here indicates. "Adhesion to the conception of the Great State involves adhesion to the belief that the amount of regular labor, skilled and unskilled, required to produce everything necessary for everyone living in its highly elaborate civilisation, may, under modern conditions, with the help of scientific economy and power-producing machinery, be reduced to so small a number of working hours per head, in proportion to the average life of the citizen, as to be met as regards the greater moiety of it by the payment of wages over and above the gratuitous share of each individual in the general output; and, as regards the residue, a residue of rough, disagreeable, and monotonous occupations, by some form of conscription, which will devote a year, let us say, of each person's life to the public service."

This ideal has often been presented before, though never more concisely. It is just, honest, and, on the face of things, technically feasible. The people in this country and in some others are in formal possession of

the power to realise it. Why do they not? We wish Mr. Wells had given himself up to a serious endeavor to answer this question, instead of leaving a rather haphazard collection of essayists to make pot-shots at filling in the features of the larger outline figure which he sketches. The test of every ideal that claims to be practicable is the transition. No one really tells us here how we are to pass from a State which is not great to one that is. Mr. Chiozza Money, indeed, expends a long chapter in expounding the luxury of the great State when it is founded. But Mr. Taylor, who addresses himself to the promising theme of *The Present Development of the Great State*, bases his argument upon a purely dogmatic declaration that the present industrial State "is now on the point of breaking down," because "profit-making is its imperative end, and this is rapidly becoming more difficult to reach." This statement has no support from facts. Indeed, Mr. Money himself has elsewhere exposed its untruth. It is as unreliable a hope as the Marxian view that all business was gathering itself by inherent necessity into great single amalgamations, which would pass over easily from private into public hands, a proposition which Mr. Taylor here seems to endorse. "A very slight rearrangement of affairs might change this capitalist industrial machinery into Central Departments of a great State." It is idle to suppose that any desirable social ideal will be attained merely by the pressure of events and the natural play of economic forces. What is wanted is brains and goodwill in sufficient quantities, and widely enough dispersed to ensure democracy. A few of the shooters in this gallery have aimed at "education." But how to get it in a people that does not seem to want it enough to make the necessary sacrifices! Sir E. Ray Lankester makes a powerful plea for endowment of research, as distinguished from the merely repetitive side of education. He wants more money, time, energy for evoking new knowledge. But why cannot he get it? Is it for the same reason that makes it difficult for Mr. Conrad Noel to realise his new Church, or Mr. Roger Fry his conception of the art-life in a Great State? Only in one of these essays is there an attempt to probe to the roots of the definitely spiritual defects laid bare by these questions. In a really profound and eloquent chapter Mr. Herbert Trench pleads for a study of the conditions of that union of Wisdom and Life which the history of man through the ages shows to be essential to progress. It is an interesting criticism of the entanglement of aims and valuations in the progressive movement that brings into this volume an essay tracing the permanent germination of the fruitful ideal to the spiritual experience of the ordinary human family.

"Let no exceptional bias of that embittered outcast, the writer or artist, mislead us in this matter. If a man has not in childhood, and for years, watched in their interactions the steady group of the family, surmising in his child-mind the thousand-fold subtleties of their invisible intercourse and growth, he has missed the core of all the humanities, and lost the scale of values, which must be learned in childhood or not at all." To many readers the impressive handling of this theme by Mr. Trench will appear as an oasis in a somewhat barren wilderness of print.

SPLITTING THE BEES.

THE Isle of Wight disease having destroyed many apiaries and decimated many others (cut them down not by a tenth but to a tenth), a great deal of attention will be directed this summer to increase instead of honey-getting. Your true bee-keeper does not lightly give up. He is not entirely demoralised by the reverse that has befallen him. It is what a stockbroker would call a shake-out, or the healthy pruning of a too boisterous bull account. If we begin on right lines it will not be long before we have our old apiary again, and the Isle of Wight disease

may not come back for a hundred years. And each one of us believes that the remnant of our stock that has escaped is the beginning of a salted strain that everyone will want, as a few years ago men scrambled for a potato that was immune from potato disease.

When Aristæus lost all his bees (no doubt from Isle of Wight disease) he petitioned the gods, and was given a new supply from heaven. We, unfamiliar with the gods, must retain at least the spark of a nucleus, and from that carefully tend the fire, detaching torches as its strength permits, till all the hives are full again. If we take the queen and half the combs away, that hive will go forward by itself, and the remainder will raise a new queen which will be laying in about three weeks. Five or six queens will be raised, and when one has been crowned, the bees ruthlessly destroy the others as mere waste material. The bee-keeper by searching the hive at the right time can save the extra princesses, and, if his skill and luck be great enough, can in three weeks split his hive, not into two, but into five or six little stocks to grow through the summer, and become strong honey-producers next year. It is an extreme case, and only succeeds in such small figures in rare instances. It is easier to make twelve hives of two, and still easier to make sixty hives of ten, for then we can have one strong force raising queens from the best eggs, and an increasing number of others contributing brood and young bees to hives that need strengthening. For the bees are but so much fuel that can be interchanged from one heap to another, and the queens are sparks which will set the heaps alive.

The writer has been cheered by the maxim, "Bees do nothing invariably." If even the experts have found this, it is not astonishing that an amateur has encountered a good deal of bewilderment in his modest endeavor to make two hives become six. The first hive was split on the afternoon of the eclipse, which everyone remembers took place on April 17th. It was a very early date for such an operation, but an exceptional year has justified it. No cold nights came down to quench the two little fires split from one large one, every day was fine, and the sycamore which had begun to blossom then lasted for a month, and led up to a perfect rush of other honey. So much so that the queenless hive devoted itself whole-heartedly to honey-making. It did not seem to worry in the least about the loss of its queen; it would become a gay republic, and every cell that should have been kept for babies was soon choked with stores.

If the hive had worked by majority as a human hive works, there would have been no re-queening. All would have devoted themselves to a brief life of work, and in three months there would have been a dead city full of honey. But some prudent little woman, or committee of little women, selected an egg somewhere in a quiet corner of the hive, which they fed with royal jelly, and developed from the little womanhood for which it had been originally intended into a queen. The bee-master never found the cell that had thus been chosen. He did not hunt for cells, because he was away for a fortnight, and in that time the young queens should have hatched out. But he looked for eggs at the end of about eighteen days, and found nothing but honey. Ten pounds he took away, so as to make room for the eggs, and in three days' time looked again to see whether they had been laid. No. Eggs must be given them from the other hive, and a wait of three weeks endured for the new queens. And then, after all, at the end of thirty days instead of eighteen, the queen of the committee of little women began to lay. What a blessed conflagration was that spreading of eggs and grubs and sealed pupæ in the dark combs that had not held babies for more than a fortnight.

Still more astonishing things happened in the nuclei split from the other hive. Queen cells have remained sealed weeks beyond their normal time, and it is to be supposed that their inhabitants are dead. Queenless bees that ought to have been grateful for an opportunity of regaining their life have torn down the queen-cells given to them, and a hive with young queens actually free in its midst has failed to start breeding. We relate our troubles, and an unsympathetic *confidante*

says, "No doubt, they know their own business best." It may be so. We must have violated some clause of bee law which is far older than that of the Medes and Persians, and thus the calamity of manifold queenlessness has come upon us. So may the far more calamitous Isle of Wight disease that has swept our country in widening swathes during the last six years be due to the rash hastening of the bees in the interests of their human employer. So may the strikes—general, sympathetic, and syndicalist—but that is another matter.

While the disease was uninvestigated, we naturally sought to lay the blame for it on some shoulders not our own. Some said that the fruit-grower by spraying his blossoming trees with Bordeaux mixture had poisoned his neighbor's bees, and incidentally ruined his own crop. Others declared that the motorist was responsible, with his tarred roads, and there is indeed an action pending against one County Council on this account. Then the bee-keepers, failing to get satisfaction out of these surmises, turned upon one another. English apiarists combined to blame the French convents turned out of France that may have brought the disease with their bees into the Isle of Wight. But on what principles did it spread? Did some people coddle their bees too much, nursing them with too many blankets, and even in spring with hot bricks? Did we feed too much with sugar, or ought we to have extracted the old pollen and honey, and fed solid with nice, medicated cane syrup? And the entirely impartial man in the street asked whether, by giving the bees too much work and attenuating their constitution by too much splitting, we had not lowered their disease-resisting powers.

The epidemic has now been investigated, and the wilder theories exploded. The man in the street seems to have been nearest the mark. The microbe of the ailment is not a new one. It is *Nosema apis*, the cause of the old malignant dysentery long ago credited by Dr. Zander with the destruction of "thousands of colonies without the bee-keeper knowing it." *Nosema bombyci* is the brother parasite that destroyed the silkworm and the silk industry in France a few years ago. The one is undoubtedly endemic with, at any rate, the Japanese silkworms, and the other is said to be found in most stocks of bees in Germany. The Board of Agriculture investigators, whose very interesting report has just been published, says, "Microsporidiosis" (to which *Nosema apis* belongs) "is essentially a disease of crowded districts."

The saying of the man in the street is also found true, that we can best fight this disease by keeping our bees strong and healthy. According to German opinion and experience, there is at some time or other in every hive a bee not only carrying *Nosema apis*, but as full of it as the very worst Isle of Wight victim. A healthy bee community sees to a case of this sort by promptly expelling the offender. Or she may go foraging, and on her return journey fail to make the hive entrance and die outside. The humane bee-keeper slopes the alighting board to the ground, and allows her to crawl home again. Or perhaps in a labyrinth of supers she may die in an overlooked corner, and thoroughly infect the steamy atmosphere of the hive. The floral district may easily be overcrowded even by the adventurers of perfectly appointed hives. A scarcity of pollen may lower their vitality all round, and upon a lower vitality *Nosema apis* is sure to leap like a hawk at a weakling bird.

Microbes have their uses not less than hawks. We have learned that there was something wrong with our bee-keeping. It was not a general overcrowding, for Britain was not within billions of the stock she has often carried before. Perhaps we had overdriven our bees, and peeked and pried too often to see how they were doing our work. We forbid them to make wax, because the combs we make for them are cheaper in time and honey. It is as though we glued up their sweat glands, for wax is a glandular excretion, and its making must be a relief to the organism. Something was wrong, and that must be found out. Our best thanks to *Nosema apis* for the warning it has given.

Short Studies.

THE REVELATION.

I FOUND him sitting on the edge of Romney Marsh, on the side of the road from Hythe to Dymchurch, where the shooting ranges are. He was repairing one of his boots in an extraordinarily complex manner: pieces of string seemed to be the chief element in the process. It was a very hot day; the sky was one great unclouded dome of blue; and the road from Hythe to Dymchurch is shelterless. I was tired and over-heated, so I sat down in the shadow of the bracken beside him. He agreed that the weather was hot, and that it was a long time since we had had weather so hot. He agreed also that the farmers would be in a difficult position if the drought continued: the burnt-up state of the fields did not indicate great stores of fodder. Still, it couldn't be helped, and if it were hard on farmers, well, it was good for other people. Not much good to him, though; tramping was *not* a joy on a scorching, dusty day, particularly when your boots weren't of the best.

"Not much of a game at any time, is it?" I asked, passing the cigarettes.

"Like everything else," he said, lighting up; "has its bad points as well as its good!"

"Aimless sort of life," I suggested.

"Oh, I dunno! Not any worse than anything else!"

"Surely!" I exclaimed in the Smilesian manner, "a man gets some satisfaction out of life when he feels he has done his share of the world's work!"

"P'raps," he said, non-committally, and then lapsed into silence.

A small squad of soldiers, returning to barracks from shooting at the targets, went by, red and weary; their tunics were open at the throat, and some of them had pushed their caps back on their heads so that what breeze there was might cool their brows. A motor-car came speedily from Hythe, throwing up clouds of dust as it went by, and in its train came a light cart, laden with trunks and children and a tired-looking woman.

"You know," said the tramp, suddenly, "I used to be respectable, and earn my living!"

I murmured vaguely, and he proceeded.

"Twenty years I was with one firm!" he said.

"Twenty years!"

"Yes, ever since I left school till I gave it up!"

"Twenty years is a long time! It seems odd you should go on the tramp after service like that!"

"It does seem funny, doesn't it! I often wonder at myself when I think of it!" He looked quizzically at me for a moment, and then said, "You know, you do do funny things now and then, don't you?"

I nodded.

"You don't know why you do it! Can't account for it nohow. You just do it!"

I said that I should have thought that a steady man, with a record of twenty years' good service in one firm, would have little difficulty in getting fresh employment.

"Yes," he said, "p'raps you're right; only somehow I don't want a job!" I shrugged my shoulders. "No," he continued, quite without asperity in his voice. "No, I'm not a lazy chap. I was up at four this morning, and I've walked from Rye! . . . That's a good step on a day like this! No, it isn't that! I don't think a job's good enough!"

I asked him to explain, adding some foolishness about the dignity of labor, which I am afraid amused rather than inspired him. I detected that from the expression in his eyes. He did not say anything to indicate that he thought I was babbling nonsense. His manner was quiet and gentle and courteous, as though he found life so odd that he could not lose his temper about it, or be boorish even to those who were boorish to him.

"I used to think that," he said, simply, "and p'raps it's true. Only I didn't think so the day I gave it up, and I don't think so now. I don't suppose I ever shall!"

"Why did you give it up?" I asked.

"I often wonder about that myself! You see, it was like this! I was employed in a warehouse. Went there as a lad to run errands, and worked my way up to porter. I was getting twenty-three bob a week, and I worked from six in the morning till six at night!"

"Pretty long hours," I admitted.

"Oh, I dunno. There's lots worse than that."

"Of course," I said, "it was a regular job, and you were pretty safe, I suppose. Not like those poor devils of casual laborers!"

"That's true enough! I often thought that myself. My wife thought I was one of the lucky ones!"

"Dead, I suppose?"

"No, not that I know of!"

"You mean —!"

"Deserted her, yes!"

"You don't expect me to admire you, do you?"

"No. We had four youngsters, but two of them died. Consumption!"

"And what happened to the other two?"

"I don't know. She looked after them, I s'pose. She was a good sort of woman, you know. I often think that. I s'pose I did wrong by her!"

"You're a pretty bad lot," I said, with some disgust.

"Yes, I s'pose some people would think that. P'raps I am, only somehow—well, it's hard to tell, isn't it?"

I said that the matter was clear enough to me.

"Yes, I know," he said, "but you have to be a thing before you can understand it properly. That's what I think!"

"But why," I said urgently, "did you throw up everything and take to this sort of life?"

"Well, that's just what's so hard to explain. You see, I'm a steady sort of a chap as a rule. I don't drink, or anything of that sort! . . . I can't help wondering why I did it, and I can't make out why I don't go back again. That's what beats me. I often think of my wife, only somehow she don't seem to belong to me! You know! It's like as if I was looking in somewhere, and she was inside and I was out; and . . . Well, I suppose, it's how the dead thinks of the living, can't feel the same about 'em somehow, as they did when they was alive. It's odd, you know!"

I saw that he was in the mood for speculation, and I allowed him to ramble on without interruption.

"I went down to the warehouse one day just the same as I always did. Caught a workmen's tram and got there as usual. There wasn't anything special about the day. Just an ordinary day. I had my dinner in my pocket, wrapped up in a bit of newspaper. I remember it just the same's it was yesterday. Some bread and a cold sausage, and I meant to buy a cup of cocoa at a shop near the warehouse. There was a chap sitting beside me in the tram, reading a paper, and he said to me, 'This Smelton case is a bit hot, isn't it?' and I nodded my head, and said, 'Yes, it is,' and he said something else which I forget, and then he got off the tram and I followed him. I don't remember rightly what happened after that, but I can recollect having my dinner and saying to myself, 'Not much of a meal this for a man!' and it wasn't, you know! Bread and cold sausage! Of course, she couldn't help it! Probably didn't have anything at all herself! . . . And then I suddenly felt what a silly game it all was. Fancy, says I to myself, slogging at it like this twelve hours every day for twenty-three bob a week. Bread and cold sausage! Twenty years I'd been at it, mind you, and that was all I was getting. And no chance of getting any more. That was what knocked me over! I might go on working another twenty years and be no better off at the end of them than I was then. No prospects! Every day the same! Six to six! Twenty-three bob a week. Bread and cold sausage. God, said I, what a life! . . . And then I just gave up! I went and drew my money—it was pay-day—and I cleared off. I sent half of it to her, and said I wasn't coming back again. *I was fed up!*"

He got up from the grass and collected his goods.

"And that's how it was," he said, standing in front of me, and looking like one who seeks for explanations of things which cannot be explained. "It just came over me like that, and I can't make it out, and I don't suppose I ever shall. It's funny, you know, that's what it is; but funny things do happen sometimes."

ST. JOHN G. ERVINE.

Communications.

LORD KITCHENER'S RULE IN EGYPT.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—Lord Kitchener has not yet been twelve months in Egypt, but his rule has already been distinguished by a suppression of free speech and of a free press and by an unparalleled application of coercion. One after another the national newspapers and national leaders have been struck at. It has had one piquant result which ought to cover English Liberals with shame. Whilst under Abdul Hamid, the young Turks used Cairo as a centre where they could plot for liberty in peace; under the rule of Lord Kitchener in Egypt the converse is happening. Egyptians are flying to Constantinople as to a haven of freedom, and are beginning to conduct the campaign for Egyptian liberty from the shelter of a Constitutional Turkey.

In December last "Al Alam," the National organ, was suppressed for three months under the drastic Press Law decreed in 1909, on the model of a coercionist law of 1881. This Law or Decree—for in a despotic State all laws are such—takes power to the Government to suppress any paper it chooses. It has been freely used against the Nationalist press and the Nationalist press alone. A few weeks ago the "Wadiinil" of Alexandria was suppressed. On the suppression of "Al Alam," its editor, Sheykh Shawish, went to Constantinople and started an Arabic paper there. This has now been prohibited in Egypt, where it had a large circulation, though the "Egyptian Gazette" complains, as one might guess, that the prohibition is ineffective.

Two months ago a prosecution was launched against Mohammed Farid Bey, Ali Bey Kamel, and Ismail Bey Hafiz. The former, the leader of the National Party, was charged with having delivered a speech at the general congress of his party, on March 22nd, "tending to weaken the confidence of the nation in the Government and to incite them against it"; the two latter were charged with having published the speech in their newspapers. The text of the incriminated speech has recently been published in "Egypt," the organ of the Egyptian Committee, and in the "Egyptian Gazette," of Alexandria, of April 19th. It may be said at once that the speech is considerably milder, as well as more measured, than the ordinary effort of Mr. Bonar Law against the Liberal Government at home. The "Egyptian Gazette" singles out, as a peculiarly wicked charge, the allegation that the Government opposed "every scheme, however beneficial to the country, if the Nationalists were found to have a hand in it," a statement of such obvious and even banal truth that one would scarcely have thought it worth making at all. Indeed, Farid Bey's speech was a quite ordinary and even commonplace oration, inculcating on the artisans the need of forming co-operative unions, and ending with an appeal for a Constitution and a condemnation of the Press Law. Here are two paragraphs which give the keynote of the speech:—

"The one remedy for these evils is a Constitution. Raise your voices to demand it—else there is no hope of preventing the downfall of our country into slavery. Do not forget the night classes for the teaching of the laboring class to read, write, and reckon. These institutions teach men their duties and their rights. They would serve to diminish crime in the villages. The Provincial Councils have neglected this simple means."

"Friends! the General Assembly meets on Monday. It is the only body that at all represents us. The nation expects it to demand the restoration of our rights, as it has demanded it before, and not to forget the foremost right of all, our Constitution. The Assembly has never ceased demanding the Constitution since 1904, and unanimously at its last meeting. It demanded also the abolition of the Press Law placing our newspapers at the mercy of the Government. That law, first declared in a time of revolution, 1882, has been enforced to its extreme limits

since, although now there is no danger, and the country is peacefully demanding its lawful rights."

When the prosecution was commenced, Farid Bey, who had once been imprisoned before, got away to Constantinople. On April 30th, in his absence, he was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, with hard labor. Ali Bey Kamel and Ismail Bey Hafiz were each sentenced to three months' imprisonment, without hard labor. Farid Bey, so far, is safe from Lord Kitchener on the soil of a free Mohammedan State.

Meanwhile, Lord Kitchener has launched another ukase. He has prohibited entrance, circulation, or sale to "Egypt," the organ of the Egyptian Committee, of which Mr. Wilfrid Blunt is Chairman, a paper published in London, owned and written by British subjects. The cause of this prohibition is, no doubt, the fact that "Egypt" attacks the British Agent's policy and exposes such instances of coercion as have been mentioned. The reason put forward is that the articles in the paper are "undoubtedly calculated to create disturbances of public order," though Sir Edward Grey is good enough to add that "there has been no disturbance up to the present time attributable to the articles." It is only a minor matter that to carry out this prohibition effectively will involve tampering with postal packets in Egypt, a proceeding which Mr. Herbert Samuel, only twelve months ago, solemnly declared was never resorted to by the Egyptian Post Office.—Yours, &c.,

FREDERICK RYAN.

[The series of communications on "Liberalism in the Village" will be resumed next week.—ED., NATION.]

Letters to the Editor.

"THE COMING QUESTION OF THE LAND."

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—Most readers of THE NATION will welcome and be thankful for your powerful advocacy of Land Reform. Hitherto the efforts of Liberalism in this direction have not done much. Mr. Hemmerde won North-West Norfolk because he understood what he was talking about. He put the economic side first, and then proceeded to demonstrate the inevitable results of economic reforms.

Liberalism has, up to now, pinned its faith to mere administrative efforts which, as might be expected with very unsound economic conditions, have in practice proved more or less futile, mainly more.

It is the fashion for Liberal politicians to shy at real land reform; only few understand it, and yet the solution of the problem is quite simple. Small holdings and housing Bills are mere incidents, merely supplementary.

The form of procedure should be as follows; it may sound drastic, but it is necessary. We have to choose whether we are to have a well-cultivated, prosperous countryside, with all the inestimable advantages this would confer on the national life generally, or the preservation of the present vested interests.

Land reform in its highest sense involves: (1) The taxation of all unimproved land values, as a substitution for the present iniquitous system, which in various forms penalises enterprise of every kind, and encourages inefficiency. This would also fix an economic value on land which none could dispute, and economic pressure to use all land for its best purpose, which no owner could evade.

(2) The abolition of the privileged laws, such as the game laws and the law of primogeniture.

(3) The establishment of land courts, at any rate as courts of appeal between landlord and tenant.

(4) Security of tenure and compensation for disturbance, subject to the tenant fulfilling his own obligations.

Having done these things for the tenant, having also relieved the landowner from the worst system of taxation the world has ever seen, a minimum wage could be imposed on them for the benefit of the laborer, say, a pound a week, exclusive of his house and garden.

This could be paid then, but it would be useless, and it would do more harm than good, to try and establish it under present conditions. I write as one who has studied both the practical and economic side of the land question.

I know the agricultural laborer well, and employ a good

many. As a rule, he is adverse to small holdings; but he wants a decent cottage, a good garden, and a fair wage, and he might have all these, to the lasting good of agriculture and the country, if it were not for the parasitic interests that now prey upon the land.

The tithe alone on the land I hold, would suffice to pay two shillings more a week to all the labor employed thereon. This is the laborer's contribution to the upkeep of the Established Church.

I have observed, as a member of a County Council Small Holdings Committee, that amongst the applicants the agricultural laborer is conspicuous by his absence. He knows too much. The farm is a factory, agriculture is a science, and requires for its full development the co-operation of capital and labor, as in other industries, working together under fair conditions to both.—Yours, &c.,

T. W. TOOVEY.

King's Langley, Herts.

June 8th, 1912.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—The proposal to apply a legal minimum wage to English agricultural laborers is, on the face of it, worth earnest consideration. Not only are the wages pitifully low in some districts, but it seems Utopian to hope for effective organisation of the wage-earners in this industry, for the obvious reasons that they live scattered over the countryside, and have, for the most part, learnt more from a long schooling in submissiveness than they have learnt of the advantages of mutual confidence. But the effects of minimum wage regulation in agriculture are not easy to gauge. The problem cannot be reduced, as some of your correspondents appear to suppose it can, to a simple question whether rents would or would not fall; and, indeed, if the legislation suggested is to be safeguarded properly, it must be devised after the most searching inquiry has been made into the whole subject, both by economic theorists and by agricultural experts. Yet, in spite of these difficulties and uncertainties, some conclusions may perhaps be reached as to certain possible tendencies of State action in this respect.

1. It seems clear that if rents fell, the effect would not be merely to reduce the income of the landlords. The fall in rents would indicate a rise in the "margin of cultivation." It would no longer be profitable for wage-paying farmers to cultivate what had previously been "marginal land." Again, the better lands, in so far as they were cultivated by such farmers, would have to be tilled less intensively. In other words, the fall in rents would be a symptom of changes in conditions, which would involve a reduction in the number of laborers employed.

2. If rents did not fall, farmers would probably be driven to methods which required less labor. Pasture-farming might be developed at the expense of corn-growing. In this case, too, one effect would be that fewer laborers would be employed.

3. As a premium would be put on labor-saving in the case of large farms, so a premium would be put upon small holdings. The man who had no wages to pay, but cultivated his holding with the aid of his family, would secure a substantial advantage. This would tend to be the case, whether the real incidence of the rise in wages was upon the landlord or upon the tenant-farmer. The landlords who failed to maintain the rents of large farms at their old level would find it more profitable to let their land in small holdings to men who paid no wages, and were therefore unaffected by the law. Again, as Professor Levy has shown, a decline in the comparative profitability of corn-growing would give the smallholder a better chance. Whether the increase in small holdings would absorb the actual individuals who were discharged by the large farmers would no doubt depend upon particular circumstances. If the farmers tried to make a political demonstration by dismissing the more independent and self-reliant among their employees, this might very well occur. But even if the older and less competent men were turned off, distress would not necessarily follow, for the absorption of some men in new small holdings would almost certainly create some vacancies in the village economy, and these might be filled by the unemployed men.

4. The development of small holdings might have, in time, a considerable reaction upon the management of the larger farms. A farmer's profits depend partly on the level

of wages and rent, but partly also on his own ability. And it is a well-established axiom that the ability of any class depends on the size of the social area from which it may be recruited. But as it is hard for a townsman to acquire agricultural skill, and as it is, in many districts, almost impossible for a farm laborer to attain to the position of a large farmer, farming, in some parts of England at least, has become almost confined to a narrow hereditary class. The increase of small holdings would do something to obviate this evil by providing a ladder by which the laborer of talent might climb into the position of a large farmer. Thus, minimum wage regulation in agriculture might tend, not only to increase the number of small farms, but also to squeeze out the less efficient large farmers, and to substitute for them men of greater ability. These various considerations are, I think, far from pointing to a condemnation of the suggested legislation. But they do suggest certain warnings. They suggest that in agriculture, as in manufacture, the danger lies in the probable increase of unemployment. At the same time, the possibility of small scale production in agriculture opens a road to the solution of this difficulty, such as is not to be discovered in manufacture. The practical conclusion would seem to be that minimum wage regulation, if applied to farm laborers, should be accompanied by the vigorous encouragement of small holdings. Even this might not be enough, for the lapse of time might be too great and the strain of waiting too severe for the displaced laborers. Yet, if afforestation was begun, even on a small scale, at the same time that the minimum wage was imposed, this trouble might be surmounted. I am inclined to think that such a method of dealing with it would be better than any whittling down of the law by exemptions for "slow" workers such as were permitted in Victoria by the Act of 1903.

Two more points should be noticed. I have not attempted to consider the possibility that the rise in wages would increase the efficiency of the laborers, though this might seem almost a probability in any district where the wages were so low as to involve under-feeding. Secondly, the great variation in conditions between different counties, instead of complicating the question, should make legislation, if anything, easier. With competition so imperfect as it is between shire and shire, it should be possible to proceed experimentally, and deal with a few ill-paid districts before embarking on legislation which was applicable to the whole country.—Yours, &c.,

REGINALD LENNARD.

Oxford, June 8th, 1912.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—What appears under the heading "Liberalism and the Village," in your issue of June 1st, is pleasant reading; but in the North it seems "too late." Scotland is becoming depopulated. Three-fourths of Scotland is now a desert. Its hillsides are bare of the forests which Britain needs, and which Britain will need more and more in the future. Its glens are empty of people. Hundreds of fields and villages have been flung back into moor. For population, a few flunkies and gamekeepers for providing a little amusement to pleasure-seekers—such is now the condition of three-quarters of this country, the nurse of fighters and workers unequalled in the world.

Let not the Liberal politicians deceive themselves. The loyalty of the people of Scotland is awaiting whatever party—Liberal, Conservative, or Socialist—first delivers it from the infernal game laws which are choking the life out of it.

If we had had a Parliament in Scotland, for which we are beginning to pray, these laws would have been abolished half a century ago. They are the ugliest invention of inky-blooded clerks and greedy land-hogs. Game-laws of every kind were abolished in China many centuries ago, with most blessed results. When landowners are deprived of game-laws, then they have to make a better use of the land in order to make any profit out of it.

Game-laws are contrary to the law of Nature. The feeling that wild animals belong to nobody and become the property of whoever kills or takes them is enshrined in English common law, and felt in the hearts of honest men. It is notorious that poachers may be men of good character.

No new Act is needed at once. All that is needed for

a beginning is a little sincerity on the part of Liberal politicians—enough sincerity to put a tax of about five shillings per acre on all the uncultivated land upon which game-laws are now in force, or to which the public are not admitted; for, if paths are closed, the game can be preserved without game-laws. The tax might be raised by and by, but let us start with five shillings an acre. Landowners should be free to escape the tax by notifying that the game-laws were not enforced, and that the grounds were open.—Yours, &c.,

DAVID ALEC WILSON.

June 8th, 1912.

"THE CRIME OF BEING INEFFICIENT."

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—I hope you will forget our little feuds so far as to let me thank you for your really magnificent article on the Feeble-Minded Bill. Dr. Eder has dealt clearly and cuttlingly with the scientific facts; perhaps the matter is even better dealt with shortly and violently, as in the admirable letters of Mr. Belfort Bax and Mr. Arthur Berry. But please let me have a little space, because I want to say something to Mr. Lowes Dickinson.

Mr. Lowes Dickinson wrote, I fancy, to the effect that he was not able to judge as an expert; but he understood the experts were agreed. I beg to contradict Mr. Lowes Dickinson; I give him the lie; I tell him to his false face that he is much better able to judge than all the experts in Bumbledom; and I would far rather leave it to his judgment, if he would only consent to use it. It is not a question for experts. Experts have nothing to do with whether a thing is absurd on the face of it. A specialist may have a claim to tell me that he has counted all the lamp-posts in my street, while I have not. A specialist has no claim to tell me that he has counted all the Chinese pagodas in my street. I have counted them myself, and there are none. I have also (with the same result) counted the arguments for an utterly vague weak-mindedness being hereditary among the poor. It is not a question of whether we have read the evidence, but of whether we should believe the evidence; of whether, properly speaking, there can be any evidence.

Suppose the House of Lords (or some such body) examined experts about whether a tendency to bursts of impatience was hereditary or not. I am not an expert, but I would very cheerfully send in a report, divided into three sections, thus: "(1) I would point out to your lordships that the whole human race is liable to bursts of impatience; so there will I predict, be no difficulty about finding impatient children whose parents have been impatient; (2) It may not have escaped your lordships' notice that whether people are impatient or not depends a good deal on what you do to them; and I believe your victims are tested by being woken up in the small hours with a squirt; (3) As I learn that your lordships (not perhaps in theory, but certainly in practice) are conducting your investigations solely in the State of Montenegro, with which country you are imperfectly acquainted and very much out of sympathy, I think other mistakes will be made." Now this comparison is not exaggerated. Substitute for "impatience" the shy, sullen air of nescience and apathy, which is a much commoner fact among the unfortunate. Substitute for the squirt the cursed cockatoo voice and style of the lady slummer and amateur inspector. Substitute for the national memories of Montenegro the real secrets and prejudices of the poor, and the picture is exact. They are smashing civil liberty because something they cannot define (weak-mindedness) may be something they don't understand (hereditary) in people they don't know—the English people.

Dr. Eder, as I have said, has wholly justified himself over the scientific facts—but really, is it not strange it should be needed? Is there not a short cut of instinct out of the Island of Dr. Moreau? Eugenics! That we should actually be talking Eugenics? Have we no spiritual noses? Are we unaware of such a thing as a spiritual stink? Into what tale have we wandered, and in what sort of nightmare cities do we walk, where secret powers are given to janissaries for the manufacture of eunuchs? Imagine some man who lived on liberty, Jefferson or Charles Fox, walking suddenly into such a world!—Yours, &c.,

G. K. CHESTERTON.

June 12th, 1912.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—I find it difficult to write temperately in reference to your article of May 25th on "The Crime of Being Inefficient." The article is so perverse and its conclusions so reactionary, that I am amazed it should have been published in a Liberal paper. Instead of endeavoring to assist in constructive reform you attempt, by ridicule and misrepresentation, to prevent anything being done. From your article it would seem that the Royal Commission on the care and control of the feeble-minded had never reported, that Miss Dendy and her valuable pioneer work had never existed, that defectives had never been successfully boarded out in private families in Scotland and in many places on the Continent, that no appeal for further powers to deal with the feeble in mind had ever been made by Poor Law Authorities, Magistrates, Guilds of Help, Rescue Workers, and all those working for social advancement.

I propose, however, to refer to only two statements in your article, which seem to me to require correction:—

"The discipline of an institution, whose inmates are unfree, must necessarily be a prison discipline, based upon punishment and the straight-jacket."

This statement is untrue; it is, moreover, ungenerous, if not actually insulting, to those now laboring on behalf of the mentally defective in asylums, penitentiaries, retreats for inebriates, and reformatories. It is a cruel statement, as it will give needless pain to those whose relatives are now under care, and, at the same time, it will tend to increase the prejudice in the minds of the public against many institutions doing valuable work.

I am aware that it is not easy to draw the line between punishment and the deprivation of certain pleasures. If a guard is placed before a fire it may be said that the child is punished because he can no longer play with fire. I am also aware that violent persons have to be restrained in some way from injuring themselves or others; but, apart from verbal quibbling, your statement that the discipline of an asylum is based upon punishment and the straight-jacket is devoid of truth. Do you seriously mean that nurses and other officers have no methods of influencing their patients other than the exercise of brute force or the threat of punitive measures?

Secondly, you say:—

"But all the experience which medical observation has lately accumulated goes to show that the difference at birth between one baby and another may largely be remedied with care. . . . The defects of the parent count for little if the conditions after birth can be equalised."

It is difficult to imagine that any person seriously believes these statements to be true. Surely we all know that mental characteristics are transmitted from parent to child, just in the same way that physical ones are so transmitted. That marvellous improvement attends improved surroundings is universally recognised; but if you are to be believed, there can be little mental weakness where children are reared properly, and the crime of being inefficient almost exclusively concerns the poor and ill-bred.

I am no apologist for some of the Eugenic teachings of the day; I am sorry that the Bill under consideration proposes to place mental defectives under the supervision of the Home Office; I am fully aware of the difficulty of defining feeble-mindedness, and that any form of words will break down under criticism, in just the same way as when an attempt is made to define insanity; but I am not deaf to the inarticulate appeal of the feeble-minded girl exploited for gain by an abandoned mother, nor do I fail to hear the cry of the miserable, incompetent weakling, struggling against a social order which has no place for him. I therefore welcome the Bills before Parliament as attempts to remedy an urgent need.—Yours, &c.,

BEDFORD PIERCE.

York, June 11th, 1912

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—Your article on "The Crime of Being Inefficient" and the correspondence which appears in this week's *NATION* have certainly raised some very interesting and important points. I cannot help thinking, however, that in

this criticism of the Mental Defectives' Bill the distinction between (1) the object which it is hoped to attain by the Bill, and (2) the means by which the Bill endeavors to attain that object, has not always been clearly kept in view. As regards (1), the object of the Bill is to prevent those who are very distinctly below the normal in intelligence from having children, and this is surely an end with which all who are not confirmed anti-Eugenists must be in sympathy.

There can be little doubt to those who have impartially studied the question that one of the chief causes of economic distress in Great Britain, and indeed in almost every other country, is over-population. In these circumstances, it is desirable to impose a strict limit upon our powers of reproduction. The more intelligent classes in the community have for long been gradually taking this lesson to heart, as has been shown by the steadily falling birth-rate. They are, however, prevented from enjoying the full fruits of their prudence and foresight by the indiscriminate multiplication of the less intelligent, who, unable to support their numerous progeny themselves, leave them as a burden and a drag upon the more able members of the nation. This being so, it is surely right that some restriction be placed on the undue increase of the inefficient. As regards (2), it is a very different question as to whether the provisions of the Mental Defectives' Bill afford a desirable means of bringing about such restriction. It is certainly in accordance with the principles of true Liberalism that the freedom even of mental defectives should be interfered with as little as possible by a measure of this kind, and there seems no doubt that a great improvement in the present state of affairs could be brought about by means other than those of segregation. The more intelligent members of the community, who have long since adopted the rule of limiting the rate of increase among themselves, seldom condescend to inform their less intelligent and fortunate brethren of the moral need for such a limitation, or of the means by which it can be most easily achieved. If the necessity for limitation of births were more energetically preached, the requisite knowledge more generally obtainable, and any infringement of the rule against indiscriminate multiplication suitably punished, there are many, even among the defective, who could easily be made to abstain from reproduction without resorting to any such drastic measures as those contained in the Mental Defectives' Bill. If every effort were made to induce the inefficient voluntarily to abstain from reproducing their unfitness, we should be able with a good conscience to use compulsion in the case of those who were unable or unwilling to behave reasonably in this respect. As it is, the harshness of the Bill is largely the result of the absence of an adequate public opinion on the matter. It is an endeavor to accomplish by force what should have been done by education.

One more point. If we are to have the Bill in anything like its present form, it becomes essential that we should have some scientific method of diagnosing and measuring mental deficiency. The modern science of experimental psychology is now in a position to supply such a method. Although much work, no doubt, remains to be done in the way of selection and standardisation of suitable "tests," there is no doubt that the psychologist of to-day possesses the means of forming a far more accurate estimate of a person's intelligence than is possible by any of the rough-and-ready methods at present in general use. Progress in this field of research has of late been very rapid, and it would be well if our legislators and practical men would consult those who have specially devoted themselves to the subject, before finally deciding on the details of the Mental Defectives' Bill, or of any other similar scheme.—Yours, &c.,

J. C. FLUGEL.

(Dept. of Psychology, University College, W.C.)
9, Endsleigh Street, W.C.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—In a letter on the above subject in last week's issue of *THE NATION* I wrote:—

"After all, who are the efficient? Are they not those whom the state of things as at present established happens to suit? A revolution, a new order—and the Rockefellers and Harnsworths might be the inefficient, and the Chattertons, and William Blakes, and Francis Thompsons the 'successful' men."

But your proof-reader changed *efficient* into *inefficient*, and so made nonsense of the paragraph. *

The few disinterested persons who defend the Bill do so by pointing out that the worst clauses can be amended. But, amended or not, they have exposed the disquieting fact that the framers of this Bill care nothing for liberty. Men who do not believe in liberty are dangerous.

A summary of the Bill ought to convince all Englishmen that freedom and such a law are not to be enjoyed together.

TO WHOM IT WILL APPLY.

Feeble-minded persons; that is to say, persons who may be capable of earning their living under favorable circumstances (not incapable, notice, but capable), but are incapable through mental defects existing from birth or from an early age: (1) Of competing on equal terms with their normal fellows; or (2) of managing themselves and their affairs with ordinary prudence.

METHOD OF APPLICATION.

Any relative or friend may make a private application by petition to a judicial authority for an order. Such petition shall be accompanied by two medical certificates, or by a certificate that the alleged defective has refused to submit to medical examination; and by a declaration signed by petitioner and one other person, who may be one of the persons giving medical certificate.

Proceedings before judicial authority may, if the judicial authority (a fine word, I suppose, for a magistrate) think fit, be conducted in private. Appeal may be made to the High Court.

The defective may be sent to a licenced institution conducted for profit, or to a State institution. Existing prisons may be adapted for the reception of defectives; and in either case they are, if they attempt to escape, subject to pursuit and capture like ordinary convicts.

People who support legislation of this kind would support anything, even proposals to breed humanity on the principles of the stud farm.—Yours, &c.,

OLIVER W. F. LODGE.

June 10th, 1912.

THE NEW UNIVERSITIES.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—Your article on "The First Diet of Universities" will be read with interest by all associated with the universities of the new type, so highly extolled by the writer of the article. As a statement of the aims and aspirations of the most generous and enlightened pioneers in the University movement it is admirable; but as a picture of the new university in being, it is open to many exceptions. At the present moment the universities stand most in need of honest criticism, and their friends should resent, on their behalf, even the suspicion of flattery. The indiscriminating, and sometimes undeserved, praise which it is becoming the fashion among those who desire to decry the older universities to lavish upon the new is a real menace to the efficiency and healthy development of the latter.

The new universities, for the most part, have done, and are doing, excellent work; but even the best of them are far from having attained the educational standards of the older English universities. In a long experience of the classical departments in the newer universities, I have never been privileged to meet your honor student able to read Plato "with his feet on the fender, and Lucretius as easily as Tennyson." The number of students taking Greek is almost negligible, and even in modern literary subjects, the standard of attainment is not, generally speaking, high. It is impossible to deal with the article in detail, but it may be useful to cite, as an antidote to the panegyric of your contributor, two or three passages from the Report of the Advisory Committee to the Board of Education:—

"(1) We have been impressed with what may be termed the conglomerate character of most of the Colleges which under existing conditions are expected to make provision for non-University work (sometimes of an elementary character) side by side with their proper activities and greatly to the detriment of their proper work. We observe that out of 22,000 students attending Universities and Colleges within our purview, there are less than 3,000 full-time students who have reached or passed the third year of an organised course. The disproportion between the volume of true University work and

that of other work within the Universities is the result partly of their previous history, and partly of the imperfect co-ordination of higher (including technical and professional) education throughout the country. It has the unfortunate consequence of perpetuating false views of the scope of a University, and we consider that for the further development of true University education a stricter delimitation of the respective provinces of the University and the Technical Institute or Secondary School is of prime importance.

"(2) The question of the government of the Universities has necessarily received our attention. Beginning as local or municipal institutions, the Universities have become, or are becoming, national institutions, but it is not clear that the local bodies which are associated in the government of the Colleges have fully realized the bearing of this change. We desire, however, to say that nothing in the course of our visitations gave us greater satisfaction than the wise and active sympathy manifested towards the Universities by some of the Pro-Chancellors and other lay members of Council whom we met. We should regard it as highly regrettable if either the academic or the local body failed in any case to realise that the complete success of a modern University can only be secured by the hearty co-operation of both.

"(3) It is our experience that the attitude of local authorities ranges from liberal and enlightened sympathy to something like indifference."

No doubt, under competent management, the newer universities have possibly a great future before them; but it is simple truth—whether palatable or not—that at the present moment they lag behind their elder sisters in respect to educational ideals and general efficiency. They are, in fact, handicapped by the strange anomaly in their constitution which places their educational policy, curricula, award of degrees, and professional appointments in the hands of councils consisting, in the main, of business men, who enjoy the prestige of such a position, but who are uncontrolled and unchecked by public opinion.—Yours, &c.,

ACADEMICUS.

June 13th, 1912.

MATERNITY BENEFIT AND THE DOCTORS.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—Your medical contributors appear to look on the maternity benefit mainly as a means of improving the position of the doctors, and seem hardly to realise the facts of working-class life. There are other things besides skilled treatment at birth which women stand in need of at these times. It is urgent that they should have proper nourishment and help in the house, and it is extremely doubtful whether, under the circumstances, "a great and sustained effort should be made to persuade expectant mothers to put themselves under a medical man."

Translated into facts, the saving of £1 to £2 beforehand means either that there is less food just through the months when the mother requires more nourishment, or that the extra money is obtained by doing extra work, again at the time when rest and care are needed. But, as a matter of fact, large numbers cannot save money at all, and have to be content with what they can put aside of dry goods, such as flour, oatmeal, soap, etc. Midwives have now to undergo a thorough training, and it is certainly a matter for consideration whether a woman who cannot save £5 would not be doing far the best for her own and her child's health, by employing a midwife only, by supplying herself with adequate milk and eggs, and by obtaining help in the house to look after the children, the cooking, and the washing.

Nor do your contributors realise that, from the woman's point of view, it is a serious mistake that the Maternity Benefit can be claimed to pay the fee of a doctor called in by a midwife. At present it is becoming increasingly the practice for such fees to be paid by some local authority (as at Manchester, to which your contributors refer), and this practice should have been made compulsory and universal. The local authority then obtains repayment by degrees, a method which presses much less hardly on the family than the unexpected taking of a large proportion of the maternity benefit, on which the mother relied for her support while ill.

Apart from this special arrangement, the advantage which the doctors may rightly expect is security for the payment of their fee. But if the medical profession make the maternity benefit an excuse for raising their fees or for bringing pressure on religious administrators of charities to secure employment, the only benefit given by the Act to non-wage-earning married women—will be greatly reduced in value.

The danger is a real one, because these women cannot become members of Approved Societies, and there is no provision, therefore, for elected representatives of this class to sit on the local Insurance Committee which will make arrangements with the doctors and control the administration of maternity benefit for deposit contributors. The attitude of these Committees will have a strong influence on the question of maternity fees, indirectly if not directly. It is all-important that, in every possible way, public opinion and administrative pressure should be exerted to secure to the mother the fullest benefit of the maternity money.—Yours, &c.,

LILIAN HARRIS (Assistant Sec.,
Women's Co-operative Guild).

66, Rosslyn Hill, N.W.
June 10th, 1912.

MIDDLE-CLASS LIBERALISM: A PROTEST.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—Although it is a matter for congratulation that North-West Norfolk has been retained for the Liberal Party, the reduction of nearly 500 in the majority does not surely justify the complacent tone of assurance of your article of the 8th inst. You would have us believe that the Liberal Party is still in the hey-day of its strength and popularity, and that our opponents remain nothing more than a "quantité négligeable."

With all deference to you, I should say that the present was one of the most critical times that Liberalism has ever had to face. The backbone of the Liberal Party has always been what is known as the "great middle class." It is on this class that the prosperity of the country as a whole rests. It is the votes of this class which can swing the pendulum right or left, and it is just this class which has reason for the most profound dissatisfaction with the present Government. It is the middle class which, quite out of proportion to any other, is called upon to pay, pay, pay for all these schemes of amateurish social legislation, with which we are at present being inundated, and it is the one which gets the least benefit from them. The middle class has a profound dread and distrust of Socialism, and the way that the Government is pandering to its Socialist allies is giving the man in the street much food for thought. He has nothing to thank the Government for. No "rare, refreshing fruit" has been offered to him. He finds his financial burdens becoming greater every year; he finds the country in an unprecedentedly disturbed condition; he finds the enmity between class and class getting deeper and deeper; and he finds the whole sense of security and safety in the country disappearing. He is disturbed and dismayed by vast political changes being thrust upon the country at break-neck speed. He is justly alarmed at the weak way the Government are dealing with strikes and disturbances of the peace, which are upsetting his very existence, and he finds that during all these years that he has given an unswerving support to the Liberal Party he has been carefully put aside in all schemes for social amelioration, and that his burdens, instead of being lightened, have increased tenfold. To add to his discontent and soreness, he is now called upon to face an extraordinary amount of trouble and anxiety in connection with an imperfectly-considered and incomprehensible Insurance Act, which is likely to make his whole existence a perfect nightmare. It seems more than probable that this Act will be the final nail in the coffin of the Liberal Party. Unpopular alike with masters and men, mistresses and servants, it is certain to be, in its present form, a cause of never-ending friction and trouble. I know from my own experience in Scotland of dozens of hitherto absolutely loyal Liberals who, through dissatisfaction with the Insurance Act, have pledged themselves either to abstain from voting at the next election, or to vote for the Unionist candidate. From what I have heard from organising secretaries and officials in other parts of the country, this feeling of bitter dissatisfaction and discontent is very widespread indeed. In snubbing and neglecting the middle class at every opportunity, the present Government have played into the hands of their opponents. The middle-class voter's distrust and dislike of Tariff Reform will not weigh in the scales with his distrust of this Government of disturbers of the peace.

In conclusion, I have never understood why the Conservatives should abuse Mr. Lloyd George. If they only knew it, he is one of the greatest assets they have ever had. Yours, &c.,

MIDDLE-CLASS LIBERAL.

Uplands, Bridge of Allan, N.B.

June 11th, 1912.

THE CHARACTER OF JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—Your interesting article on Rousseau calls attention to Mrs. Macdonald's endeavor to remove certain stains from his memory. Perhaps some of your readers may be glad to know of Champion's "*Rousseau et la Révolution Française*," a work of unusual interest, which aims at disproving all connection between the philosopher of Geneva and the horrors of '93.—Yours, &c.,

G. P. GOOCH.

South Villa, Campden Hill Road, W.

June 10th, 1912.

LIBERAL POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—My attention has only lately been drawn to Mr. Richard Jebb's letter to you of January 15th last on the above subject. Mr. Jebb therein says that he is seeking "evidence of Liberal sympathies with the Union policy . . . of earlier date than the summer of 1906." I venture accordingly to send you an extract from my opening speech in the Buteshire By-election of the early spring of 1905.

"I am afraid that a Liberal Government would not be able to abrogate the Transvaal (Immigration) Ordinance; but at least it could give to South Africa a form of self-government: not a tinkering with self-government, but a full and free Federal Constitution for the whole country, with subordinate Parliaments for the five different colonies. That granted, I would reserve for the consideration of such a Federal Parliament this question of indentured labor."—(*Glasgow Herald*, February 25th, 1905.)

—Yours, &c.,

NORMAN LAMONT.

Knockdow, Toward, Argyshire,

June 10th, 1912.

IRISH UNIONISTS AND HOME RULE.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—It is a question whether your article "The Chance of Irish Unionism" of the 8th inst. does not under-estimate the prospects of Unionists—Protestant Unionists—under Home Rule. It certainly omits one fact which will secure for them in the South and West, if not a preponderance, such as they have in the North, still a very effective influence in the Irish Legislature and in the formation of a sound public opinion.

Trade, commerce, and enterprise in the Catholic parts of Ireland are mainly in the hands of Protestants, and in exercising them, Protestants enjoy the hearty goodwill of their Catholic countrymen. They not only enrich themselves and benefit the community, but by the practice and experience of their callings they acquire a financial sagacity, an instinct of stability, a knowledge of what will endanger property and what will secure it, that will make every man who has anything to lose regard them as his guides, philosophers and friends. Amongst those who have something to lose may be mentioned the farmers and tenant purchasers, a pretty numerous body, and if Protestant business men enter cordially into the practical working of Irish affairs, they will receive not only sympathy but political recognition and support from the cultivators, who are by no means destitute of common sense.

A hundred or a hundred and twenty years ago, Catholics took a more active part in trade and commerce than at present. Social ambition, leading to the professions and to the fatal temptation of becoming a landlord, has lessened their commercial enterprise, and other causes have contributed. I have no doubt that after the first and most critical (or uncritical) stage of democratic legislation and administration has passed, a Home Rule Government will be eager to inquire how far the secondary education of Catholics

has unfitted them for trade and commerce. In the meantime, the active business men among them are not a few, and they, too, will be only too glad to co-operate with their Protestant commercial brothers.

Protestants on this side of the Boyne will find that what my great and respected leader and colleague, Mr. Butt, thought and preached is true—namely, that Home Rule will secure to intelligent members of their creed, willing to take an active and sympathetic part in the administration of Home Rule, when it comes, an influence, social and political, far more honorable and enduring than their co-religionists possessed in the evil days of ascendancy.—Yours, &c.,

RICHARD O'SHAUGHNESSY.

8, Palmerston Park, Dublin,
June 11th, 1912

RUSKIN'S UNIDENTIFIED QUOTATIONS.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—On page 372 of this week's *NATION*, among Ruskin's unidentified allusions, you mention "With blood of Kings and Queens." Surely this is an inaccurate quotation from Keats's "Eve of St. Agnes" (stanza 24), where, on the stained-glass casement, "A shielded scutcheon blushed with blood of Queens and Kings"—Yours, &c.,

E. GURNEY SALTER.

66, Ladbroke Road, W.
June 9th, 1912.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—“If water chokes, what will you do after it?” quoted in this week's *NATION* (p. 372) comes from Aristotle's "Ethics," Book VII., ch. 2, 1145a35: "To the man without self-control may be applied the proverb, 'When water chokes, what must we drink to wash it down?' For if he were persuaded of the rightness of what he does, he might have been persuaded to change his mind and so have ceased doing it. But as it is he is persuaded of the rightness of one course, and, nevertheless, follows another."—Yours, &c.,

L. R. STRANGEWAYS.

Mapperley Lodge, Nottingham.
June 9th, 1912.

DISENDOWMENT IN WALES.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—Do English Nonconformists realise that, whilst it may redress some abuses, the main result of the passage of the Welsh Disestablishment Bill will be to divert £173,000 a year from religious to secular purposes?

The body using these funds to-day may not meet with our entire approval, but we cannot deny that the money is devoted to religious uses.

As a descendant of the leader of the Secession of 1662, as a member of a family which for 250 years in Wales has been notable for its Nonconformity, and as the son of a life-long Liberationist, I, perhaps, shall not be accused of bias.

Our family has suffered too much in the past from the Church in Wales for us soon to forget its record. But neither revenge nor a desire for social equality are adequate reasons for Christians helping to attack the cause of religion generally.

Every educated Welshman to-day knows—and many admit in private—the change that has come over the Church in Wales and the honest efforts which it has made during the past twenty years to live down its record and minister, often with inadequate means, to the religious life of the nation. The splendid work of the Nonconformist bodies and the fact that the Church numbers barely half the population among its adherents seem no reasons for diverting its funds to non-religious uses, however excellent, still less to old age pensions, as Mr. Ellis Griffiths promised his constituents. Disestablishment may be, and is, demanded by many sincere lovers of religion, but disendowment of any portion of Christ's Church can be defended by no earnest Christian, however justifiable to politicians.

While there is much to be said for disestablishment, the disendowment portion of the Bill reveals its true origin, and as a matter of common knowledge is considered both unnecessary and unjust by more than one member of the Liberation Society itself.—Yours, &c.,

A LIBERAL NONCONFORMIST.

SIGNOR GIOLITTI AND ENGLISH LIBERALISM.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—By a grievous error, 5,000 instead of 5,000,000 illiterates has been printed in the last paragraph of my letter, making nonsense of it. Pray make the necessary correction in next week's issue in any effective way you can.—Yours, &c.,

T. OKEY.

Poetry.

THE COUNTRY OF "FOUND-EVERYTHING."

In the country of "Found-Everything,"

Palaces rise not high:

The gates are open wide,

No sentinels standing by.

In stables are no horses,

No beautiful elephants show,

No lamps of scented oil

Burn while soft winds blow!

The women—ah! the women—

They wear no jewels on hair,

The golden turrets in temples

Are nowhere visible there.

On sides of lovely walks,

The sword lies deep and green;

The limpid stream hard by

Displays its crystal sheen.

A hut, with a hedge round it;

There creepers twine and coil,

And all day long the bees

In flowers buzz and toil.

In the morning the passers-by

Go to their work and sing,

In evening they come unpaid,

In the land of "Found-Everything."

In the courtyard of her hut

Sits the girl at hot noon-tide.

She hums a tune as she spins,

The shades fall at her side.

In fields the new paddy shoots

Wave in the breeze all day.

An unknown scent or sound

Brings on a sudden dismay!

The deep heart of the sky

To the woodland's bosom doth cling,

And whoever goes goes singing

In the land of "Found-Everything."

The merchants' boats pass by,

They sail on far away,

They touch not here for bargain,

They rest not here one day.

The soldiers march with victory,

Their banners stream in the sky,

Their monarch stops not here,

As his chariot rolls hard by.

Travellers from distant lands,

Whom here chance does bring,

They fail to see what's there,

In the land of "Found-Everything."

No rush and hurry in streets,

No din in marts, no noise.

Here build thy peaceful hut,

O, poet! take thy choice!

Lay down this weary load,

Wash thy dirt off here,

Set thy guitar in tune,

And see what treasure is near!

Spread out thy tired feet,

And rest when birds drop wing,

'Neath the sky lit up with stars.

In the land of "Found-Everything."

[Translated from the Bengali of Rabindra Nath Tagore.]

The World of Books.

THE "NATION" OFFICE, THURSDAY NIGHT.

THE following is our weekly selection of books which we commend to the notice of our readers:—

- "The New Irish Constitution." Edited by Professor J. H. Morgan. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)
- "The Old Irish World." By Alice Stopford Green. (Macmillan. 4s. net.)
- "The Widow in the Bye Street." By John Masefield. (Sidgwick & Jackson. 3s. 6d. net.)
- "Memories of James McNeill Whistler." By Thomas R. Way. (Lane. 10s. 6d. net.)
- "Liberalism and the House of Lords: The Story of the Veto Battle, 1832-1911." By Harry Jones. (Methuen. 7s. 6d. net.)
- "J. M. Synge: A Critical Study." By P. P. Howe. (Secker. 7s. 6d. net.)
- "Principles and Methods of Municipal Trading." By Douglas Knoop. (Macmillan. 10s. net.)
- "Lee, the American." By Gamaliel Bradford. (Constable. 10s. 6d. net.)
- "The Day of the Saxon." By Homer Lea. (Harper. 7s. 6d. net.)
- "How 'Twas: Short Stories and Small Travels." By Stephen Reynolds. (Macmillan. 5s. net.)
- "The Daughter of Brahma." By I. A. R. Wylie. (Mills & Boon. 6s.)
- "Le Cénacle de Joseph Delorme." Tome I., "Victor Hugo et les Poètes." Tome II., "Victor Hugo et les Artistes." (Paris: Mercure de France. 15 fr.)
- "Les Dieux Ont Soif." Roman. Par Anatole France. (Paris: Calman-Lévy. 3 fr. 50.)
- "Naturgewalten in Hochgebirge." Von W. Penck. (Stuttgart: Strecker. M. 2.50.)

MRS. MEYNELL is engaged upon a "Life of the Virgin," which will be illustrated from a large number of pictures in color by Mr. R. Anning Bell. It will be published in the autumn for the Medici Press by Messrs. Macmillan.

THE same publishers will also have ready in the autumn a biography of George Frederick Watts, which Lady Watts has now practically finished. Except for a little volume by Mr. Bateman, in Messrs. Bell's "Miniature Series of Painters," and some "extra numbers" issued by the illustrated journals, few biographies of Watts have appeared.

AN important American work on "The Initiative, Referendum, and Recall," is to be published shortly by Messrs. Appleton. It explains the principles and method of direct legislation, and gives the arguments for and against the initiative, referendum, and recall, together with the results of their working in those places where they have been adopted. Among the contributors are President Lowell, of Harvard, Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, and Professor Haynes.

"THE MANCHESTER POLITICIAN (1750-1912)" is the title of a history of the political thought of Manchester since the cotton trade made it an important centre, written by Mr. G. B. Hertz, and to be published within the next couple of weeks by the Manchester University Press. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, Manchester was noted for its dislike of reform and reformers of every description; but towards the beginning of the nineteenth century a change took place, and Peterloo made Manchester a Radical centre. Mr. Hertz deals with Hunt, Bamford, and other Manchester leaders, as well as with the Manchester School, of which he gives a full account.

THE "Life of Sir Roger L'Estrange," by Mr. Kitchin, announced by Messrs. Kegan Paul, should prove an entertaining volume and throw a good deal of light on the early history of journalism. L'Estrange, says the late Dr. Garnett, "has a permanent place in history as the first 'able editor,' who not only made his journal the vehicle for political discussions, and availed himself of regular newsletters, but employed a regular staff of assistants to collect news." His "Intelligencer" and "News" had but a brief existence, for though they were only started in 1663, they were crushed out by Muddiman's "Gazette" at the end of 1665. L'Estrange was, however, consoled by a pension from Charles II. and permission to retain his appointment as licenser of the press, the duties of which office, we are told, he carried out in a rigorous manner. Dr. Johnson claimed for him the position of being the first writer on record who enlisted himself under the banner of a party, and regularly defended

it, right or wrong—a precedent that, of course, no modern journalist would dream of following.

If L'Estrange was the first "able editor," he can with equal justice be called the founder of the political pamphlet in this country. The diction of his pamphlets—which were all in support of the Stuart and Tory cause—is said by Macaulay to be "not without keenness and vigor," though "coarse, and disfigured by a mean and flippant jargon which then passed for wit in the green-room and the tavern." Macaulay goes on to speak of his "ferocious and ignoble nature," but a different estimate of his character was formed by Clarendon and Pepys, both of whom praise his wit and conversation. L'Estrange's other literary activities included several translations, among them renderings of Æsop's "Fables," Erasmus's "Colloquies," the "History of the Jewish War" by Josephus, Bona's "Guide to Eternity," and a number of improper French novels.

NOVELISTS in search of material might still turn with profit to the "Causes Célèbres," or reports of famous French criminal cases, which were largely drawn upon by Alexandre Dumas, but contain a large store still available for literary manipulation. In the meantime, Mr. Stoddard Dewey comes forward with a collection of true tales drawn from this source in his "Four French Adventurers," published last week by Messrs. Nelson. Mr. Dewey's title seems to have been suggested by Mr. Austin Dobson's charming little volume, "Four Frenchwomen," but it belongs to the class of which Mr. Whibley's "Book of Scoundrels" is the best example. The four adventurers whose record Mr. Dewey gives us, all of whom lived in or about the Napoleonic era, are "the ingenious Monsieur Collet," a master of the art of robbery without violence; Pierre Coignard, who personated the Count de Sainte-Hélène and brought off a number of artistic burglaries; Charles of Navarre, one of the crowd of claimants to be the lost Dauphin; and Louis de Marsilly, a brave and hot-headed soldier of fortune. In all cases Mr. Dewey has supplemented the information given in the "Causes Célèbres" by other documents, and his book makes an interesting addition to the number of true stories of adventure.

A CURIOUS literary incident is told by Mr. Dewey in one of his notes, on the authority of Professor Wigmore, the author of a great legal work on evidence. It appears that the plot of Poe's "Murders in the Rue Morgue" has been printed in Germany as a genuine French *cause célèbre*, and fathered on a French judge, with a reference to the "Gazette des Tribunaux" of an earlier date than Poe's story. The account had so real an air that some critics on the track of literary "sources" came to the conclusion that it was this case that provided Poe with the materials from which his story was constructed. The matter was only cleared up by a thorough search, which proved that the references were false, and that the German account differed from the official record of the police-officer whose name had been imported from real life into the story. The incident shows some of the pitfalls that lie in the path of literary research, but it is satisfactory to know that Poe's gift of imagination and analysis has been vindicated.

WHILE speaking of Mr. Dewey's book and of real stories of adventure, we should like to draw attention to a selection from the "Memoirs of Miles Byrne," containing the chapters relating to Ireland, and recently issued by Messrs. Maunsel under the title of "Notes of an Irish Exile of 1798." Miles Byrne's "Memoirs" were first published in Paris in 1863, and were reprinted a few years ago by Messrs. Maunsel, with an introduction by Mr. Stephen Gwynn. Their author, after taking part in the Irish Rebellion of 1798, and sharing in Emmet's rising of 1803, escaped to France, where he joined the Irish Legion, and fought for Napoleon in half the countries of Europe. When the Restoration came, he was dismissed the French service, but after the "three days of July" he was recalled, and held high command in the first expedition despatched for the liberation of Greece. His "Memoirs" are well worth reading, and the chapters reprinted in the "Notes" give a stirring account of '98 and a full description of Emmet's unlucky attempt.

Reviews.

THE VALUE OF HELLENISM.

"The Greek Genius and its Meaning to Us." By R. W. LIVINGSTONE. (Clarendon Press. 6s. net.)

"CONTINUALLY laid aside—it is too tremendous and fatiguing for the world to live up to; continually rediscovered—for the world cannot live without it: that is the history of the Greek genius." Such is the judgment of Mr. Livingstone, whose analysis of "The Greek Genius and its Meaning to Us" has been recently issued by the Oxford University Press. Fatiguing, because it looks at life with a directness that our sensitive eyes, for whose comfort its ugliness and injustice and agony are so carefully covered up, cannot bear without blinking; because it sees the good and the bad together in the same cold, clear light of reason, health and blue skies and seas, argument and song, "laughter and the love of friends," together with earthquake and plague, the ragged shivering poor, war and broken hearts, sickness and death; because it refuses to look only at the good, or to turn from the bad for comfort to a visionary unknowable world where all the crooked things shall one day be made straight; yet Hellenism is indispensable, "the world cannot live without it"; it leaves the ruins of Greece to conquer the mind of Rome, it lies hid in Byzantine libraries through the long Dark Ages, only to break out suddenly, reborn as it were, and, spreading swiftly over Europe, take a hold on its culture which, unless the nightmares of a relapse into barbarism come true, will never now be loosed. In spite of all the rumors that the humanities are being ousted from education by the "practical" studies that have money in them, this hold of Hellenism on European thought has never been stronger than it is to-day.

There is more than one reason. The scientific study of Greek life and thought has advanced rapidly since Grote and Thirlwall first began to write Greek History in any proper sense of the words. New light has been thrown on dark places, new documents have been discovered, by the young sciences of Archaeology and Excavation. Travel in Greek lands, now so easily achievable, and books and photographs have made the physical background of Greek life a reality to an ever-widening circle. Reality, indeed, is the essential note of the new Hellenism. A generation ago the ancient Greeks seemed dim and far-away to most of us. Their world was wrapped in the same kind of misty romantic atmosphere as shrouds the figures of King Arthur or the Volsungs. It was peopled according to fancy with Greco-Roman statues, half come to life, and moving stiffly through a paradise of nectar and ambrosia, or with naked savages, whose pagan lusts ought only to be mentioned for the purpose of showing what the world was like before the coming of Christianity. But now we are getting to know them as they were, just men and women as real and human as ourselves, but so supremely gifted that in the space of three or four centuries they lifted their civilisation from the welter and chaos of barbarism to one of the supreme heights of the world.

Happily for us, during the later stages of this astonishing achievement, some of their great men wrote down their "criticism of life." We have been poring for generations over the fragments of that incomparable literature, and now at last the dust of the study is beginning to clear away, we are making the great dead speak in a language we can understand, we are learning from their lips the secret of their success. And the closer we come to a truthful appreciation of their outlook, the more intensely modern it appears to be—too sane, too direct, too human, ever to grow stale—and the more awakening and fortifying its teaching in the face of present-day problems.

This more thorough understanding of the Greeks is the last and chief cause of the new renaissance of Hellenism; and it is mainly due to the work of two scholars, in Germany of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, in England of Gilbert Murray. Three years ago we acclaimed the latter's appointment as Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford: we knew what a revitalising force he would bring to bear on the old home of Greek learning, for we had learnt from him, as from no other, the nearness and reality of Hellenism. Above all, he had revealed the moral impulses that inspired its achieve-

ments, "the kind of ideal that Athens in her own mind had formed of herself." He had made us feel in his "Greek Literature" something of the spirit that breathed through all that company of writers. One of their greatest he had raised veritably from the grave, as only the magic of his fine scholarship, his imaginative sympathy, his own poet's gift could do it. We heard Euripides singing of the ideal Athens as her "Band of Lovers," Pericles and his immortal fellows, saw her:—

"They are hungered, and lo, their desire
With wisdom is fed as with meat:
In their skies is a shining of fire,
A joy in the fall of their feet,"

where "Harmony, sown as the flowers, Grew gold in the acres of corn," and men were aflame with "Strong Loves of all godlike endeavor, Whom Wisdom shall throne on her throne." Aegean sunshine over all the land, harmony and wisdom and joy among men, what a vision, and how remote from our world of grey clouds and city smoke and social discord! Was not this the glamor of fairyland again? But we turned the pages, and the same poet, who could contemplate the vision of society as it could be, as indeed it had been at Athens for one marvellous generation, was facing the weakness and blindness that kept it, and still keeps it, from its due inheritance; the bestiality of war, the bitter sufferings of the woman and the slave, the ruin done by reckless egoism, by lust and hate, greed and cruelty and superstition. We were in fairyland no longer.

The same interpreter, who had shown us this Greek spirit when the touch of autumn was already on it, had revealed it also in the freshness of its spring. There is a new meaning in the "Iliad" now. Behind the glorious confidence of the epic spirit, the fiery narrative of the mighty deeds of gods and men, the thrill of combat, the joy of living, we can detect those earlier Greek poets jealously weeding out from their great national heirloom, as the generations passed, the traces of the primitive savagery from which their race had so recently emerged.

Such was the new interpretation of Greek literature with which Professor Murray came to Oxford, as the embodiment of a force "making for the progress of the human race," of a spirit that insisted on looking straight at the facts of life, not afraid to appreciate the good and determined to efface the bad, and, above all, of the reflections and aspirations of real human beings like ourselves, struggling through the same difficulties towards the same goal. This was stimulating food for every scholar who had not quite shut his study door upon the world; and the results of it are clearly apparent in the two chief contributions that Oxford scholarship has recently made to our understanding of Hellenism. Both confess, though the reader could detect it for himself, their debt to Professor Murray; both have learnt to "look on Greek thought as a living thing," both are intensely interested in the problems of modern life and have written their books not so much to enlighten academic circles as to expound the value and meaning of the reborn Hellenism to the general public. Mr. Zimmer's "Greek Commonwealth" deals with the political and economic side of Athenian life. With a wealth of knowledge and a brilliance of style, which have been warmly appreciated by English and Continental critics alike, he describes the development of the Greek city-state to its acme in the democracy of fifth-century Athens. To him the finest achievement of the Greek spirit is Athenian city-state patriotism. It was their passionate devotion to the Commonwealth that inspired that unparalleled gathering of artists and writers and statesmen. So keen was the sense of public duty that no fewer than one citizen in every four was engaged in actual service of the State. "They spend their bodies, as mere external tools, in the City's service, and count their minds as most truly their own when employed on her behalf"; so much even the enemies of Athens were bound to admit. Class-feeling died in the fellowship of a common cause. "Wealth to us," said Pericles, "is not mere material for vainglory, but an opportunity for achievement; and poverty we think it no disgrace to acknowledge, but a real degradation to make no effort to overcome." Nor was their inspiration a purely selfish patriotism; they felt themselves the missionaries of all the highest ideals of Hellenism; Athens was to realise them, not for her own sake only, but for the betterment of the whole civilised world as they knew it; she was to be "the School

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It is this Directness, this straight-looking that makes Hellenism so fine a tonic for our present age. It is an age of uncertainty and contradiction. Science has achieved amazing triumphs, but no widespread enthusiasm of humanity, no general sense of social duty, no live religion of love and fellowship has taken the place of the old dogmatic faith which science has destroyed. Material wealth is vastly increased, but so is the unfairness of its distribution. Social unrest at home, jealousy and mistrust abroad, an obvious want of straight looking and hard thinking, and yet the mass of the people is lethargic or irresolute, and its latent idealism inoperative. The root of the mischief seems to be that, as a nation, we are afraid of Directness. We decline to look straight at the horrors of the slums, at the annual death-roll from starvation, at the great company of maimed and diseased and imbecile born of largely preventable conditions. And some of us are still capable, if we see these things at all, of murmuring shibboleths about the rectification of this life's evils in the next, or blasphemies about the irredeemable viciousness of men, and so relapsing into comfortable acquiescence and inaction. For putting such blindness and cowardice to shame, for strengthening our efforts at remedy and reconstruction, there is a crying need of the Greek directness and courage and belief in humanity. So real for us are the meaning and value of Hellenism.

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It was Mr. Bernard Shaw, we believe, who, discussing the rowdy reception of the Irish players in some of the American theatres last year, spoke of Lady Gregory as "the greatest living Irishwoman." She is certainly a remarkable enough writer to put any generous critic a little off his balance. Equal mistress in comedy and tragedy, essayist, gatherer of the humors of folk-lore, imaginative translator of heroic literature, venturesome translator of Molière, she has contributed a variety of grotesque and beautiful things to Anglo-Irish literature greater than any of her contemporaries. She owes her chief fame, perhaps, to the way in which, along with Mr. G. A. Birmingham and the authors of "Some Experiences of an Irish R.M.," she has kept alive the tradition of Ireland as a laughing country—at least, as a country in which Laughter has frequent occasion to hold both his sides. She surpasses the others in the quality of her comedy, however; not that she is more comic, but that she is more comprehensively true to life. Mr. Birmingham gives us farce with a salt of reality; Miss Somerville and Miss Ross, practical jokers of literature, turn to reality as upper-class

patrons of the comic; but Lady Gregory has gone to reality as to a cave of treasure. She is one of the discoverers of Ireland. Her genius, like Synge's, seems to have opened its eyes one day and seen spread below it the immense sea of Irish common speech, with its color, its laughter, and its music. It is a sort of second birth which many Irish men and women of the last generation or so have experienced. The beggar on the road, the piper at the door, the old people in the workhouse, are henceforth accepted as a sort of aristocracy in exile. Lady Gregory obviously sought out their company as the heirs to a great inheritance—an inheritance of imaginative and humorous speech. Not that she plundered them of their fantastic tropes so greedily as Synge did. She studied rather their common turn of phrase, its heights and its hollows, its exquisite illogic, its passionate underflow of poetry. Has she not herself told us how she could not get on with the character of Bartley Fallon in "Spreading the News," till one day she met a melancholy man by the sea at Duras, who, after describing the crosses he endured at home, said: "But I'm thinking if I went to America, it's long ago I'd be dead. And it's a great expense for a poor man to be buried in America." Out of sentences like these—sentences which show the genius of the note-book—she has made much that is most delightful in her plays. Her sentences are steeped and dyed in life, even when her situations are as mad as hatters.

Someone has said that every great writer invents a new language. Lady Gregory, whom it would be unfair to praise as a great writer, has at least qualified as one by inventing a new language out of her knowledge of Irish peasant speech. This, perhaps, is her chief literary peril. Having discovered the beautiful dialect of the Kiltartan peasantry, she was not content to leave it a peasant dialect—as we find it in her best dramatic work, "Seven Short Plays"; but she set about transforming it into a tongue into which all literature and emotion might apparently be translated. Thus, she gave us Molière in Kiltartan—a ridiculously successful piece of work—and she gave us Finn and Cuchullain in modified Kiltartan, and this, too, was successful, sometimes very beautifully so. Here, however, she had masterpieces to begin with. In the first volume of "Irish Folk-History Plays," we find her embarking, not upon translation, but upon original heroic drama, in the Kiltartan language. The result is unreality—as unreal as if Meredith had made a farm-laborer talk like Diana of the Crossways. Take, for instance, the first of the plays, "Grania," which is founded on the story of the pursuit of Diarmuid and Grania by Finn MacCool, to whom Grania had been betrothed. When Finn, disguised as a blind beggar, visits the lovers in their tent, Grania, who does not recognise him, bids him give Finn this message from her:—

"Give heed to what I say now. If you have one eye is blind, let it be turned to the place where we are, and that he might ask news of. And if you have one seeing eye, cast it upon me, and tell Finn you saw a woman no way sad or afraid, but as airy and high-minded as a mountain-filly would be challenging the winds of March!"

We flatly refuse to take the high-minded mountain filly seriously as a tragic heroine, and we confess we hold Finn equally suspect, disguised as a beggar though he is, when he speaks of himself to Grania as a hard man—"as hard as a barren step-mother's slap, or a highway gander's gob." After all, in heroic literature, we must have the illusion of the heroic. If we can get the peasant statement of the heroic, that is excellent; its sincerity brings its illusion. But a mere imitation of the peasant statement of the heroic, such as Lady Gregory seems to aim at giving us in these sentences, is as pinchbeck and unreal as Macpherson's "Ossian." It reaches a grotesque absurdity when at the close of Act II. Finn comes back to the door of the tent and, in order to stir up Diarmuid's jealousy, says:—

"It is what they were saying a while ago, the King of Foreign is grunting and sighing, grunting and sighing, around and about the big red sally tree beside the stream!"

To write like that, we fear, is to use not a style but a jargon.

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any rate—is the real “folk-history” of the book to be found. One may choose, as an example, the note on “Kincora,” where someone tells of the Battle of Clontarf, in which Brian Boru defeated the Danes:—

“Clontarf was on the head of a game of chess. The generals of the Danes were beaten at it, and they were vexed. It was Broder, that the Brodericks are descended from, that put a dagger through Brian’s heart, and he attending to his prayers. What the Danes left in Ireland were hens and weasels. And when the cock crows in the morning the country people will always say: ‘It is for Denmark they are crowing; crowing they are to be back in Denmark.’”

Lady Gregory reveals more of life—leaping, imaginative life—in that little note than in all the three acts about Grania and the three about Brian. It is because the characters in the plays in the second volume are nearer the peasantry in stature and in outlook that she is so much more successful with them than with the heroes and heroines of the tragedies. She describes the plays in this volume as “tragic comedies”; but in the first and best of them, “The Canavans,” it is difficult to see where the tragedy comes in. “The Canavans” is really a farce of the days of Elizabeth. The principal character is a cowardly miller, who ensues nothing but his own safety in the war of loyalties and disloyalties which is destroying Ireland. He is equally afraid of the wrath of the neighbors on the one hand, and the wrath of the Government on the other. Consequently, he is at his wits’ end when his brother Antony comes seeking shelter in his house, after deserting from the English Army. When the soldiers come looking for Antony, so helpless with terror is the miller, that he flies into hiding among his sacks, and his brother has to impersonate him in the interview with the officer carrying out the search. Obviously, the situation lends itself to comic elaborations, and Lady Gregory misses none of her opportunities. She flies off from reality at a tangent, however, in a later scene, where Antony disguises himself as Queen Elizabeth, supposed to have come on a secret visit of inspection to Ireland, and takes in both his brother and the officer (who is himself a Canavan, Anglicised under the name of Headley). That is a sheer invention of the theatre; it turns the play from living speech into machinery. “The Canavans,” however, has enough of present-day reality to make us forgive its occasional stage-Elizabethanism. On the whole, we think that its humors gain nothing from their historical setting.

“The White Cockade,” the second of the tragic comedies, is a play about the flight of King James II. after the Battle of the Boyne, and it, too, tends to be lifeless and mechanical in so far as it is historical. King James himself is a good comic figure of a conventional sort, as he is discovered hiding in the barrel; but Sarsfield, who is meant to be heroic, is all joints and sawdust; and the mad Jacobite lady is a puppet who might have been invented by any writer of plays. “When my ‘White Cockade’ was produced,” Lady Gregory tells us, “I was pleased to hear that Mr. Synge had said my method had made the writing of historical drama again possible.” But surely, granted the dramatic gift, the historical imagination is the only thing that makes the writing of historical drama possible. Lady Gregory does not seem to us to possess the historical imagination. Not that we believe in archaeology in the theatre; but, apart from her peasant characters, she cannot give us the illusion of reality about the figures in these historical plays. If we want the illusion of reality, we shall have to turn from “The White Cockade” to the impossible scene outside the post-office and the butcher’s shop in “Hyacinth Halvey.” As for the third of the tragic comedies, “The Deliverer,” it is a most interesting curiosity. In it we have an allegory of the fate of Parnell in a setting of the Egypt of the time of Moses. Moses himself—or the King’s nursing, as he is called—is Parnell; and he and the other characters talk Kiltartan as to the manner born. “The Deliverer” is grotesque and, in its way, impressive, though the conclusion in which the King’s nursing is thrown to the King’s cats by his rebellious followers invites parody. The second volume of the plays, even if it reveals only Lady Gregory’s talent rather than her genius, is full of odd and entertaining things, and the notes at the end of both these volumes, short though they are, give us the franchise of a wonderful world of folk-history.

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GREAT MEETINGS

Are to be held in the QUEEN'S HALL, LANGHAM PLACE, London, W., on JUNE 19th, at 3.30 and 7.30 p.m., to consider

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The promoters of this meeting wish to bring before the public the graver and more serious issues of the Women's Movement, feeling that in the midst of political conflict and social unrest these are liable to be obscured.

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AFTERNOON, at 3.30. Chairman.—Mrs. CREIGHTON.
1. Our Lord's Teaching about Women. The Right Rev. the Bishop of Hull.

2. Apostolic Teaching about Women. Rev. Dr. Scott Lidgett.

INTERCESSORY PRAYER. Rev. R. C. Gillie.

The Doors will be Closed during Prayer.

3. The Deepening of Political Life. Mr. T. Edmund Harvey, M.P.

4. World-wide Significance of the Women's Movement. Mrs. F. E. Willey, M.D.

EVENING, at 7.30.

Chairman.—The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD.

1. Chairman's Address: "The Religious Aspect of the Women's Movement."

2. The Ethical Aspect of the Women's Movement. Miss Maude Royden.

3. How the Women's Movement may help the cause of Religion. The Rev. William Temple.

4. The Effect of the Women's Movement on the Education and Ideals of Women. Mrs. Creighton.

5. Citizenship and the Home. Mrs. Runciman.

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was an offence to Christendom, not so much on general grounds as because the ladies were chiefly Oriental unbelievers. If we take into account his early education, his Oriental studies, his cosmopolitan secular temper, and remember, too, that private unbelief was probably more rife in the thirteenth century than is commonly realised, we cannot consider it improbable that the Pope and public opinion had good grounds for charging him with infidelity.

An interesting side-light is thrown on the Emperor's attitude by the fortified gate which he constructed to defend Capua on its northern side against a foe advancing from Rome. At the end of the bridge across the River Volturnus, just in front of the city, he built a fortress of two towers connected by a triumphal arch, which spanned the road. It was demolished in 1557, and the remains were hidden in a rectangular bastion. Over the arch stood a statue of Capua with the Imperial eagle on her heart; above her, the Emperor sat on a throne, and on either side were busts of his Ministers, Pietro della Vigna serene, and Taddeo of Sessa lowering. The two busts, the head of Capua, and some other heads belonging to the decoration, all inspired by antique models, were discovered within the bastion in 1875, and are now in the Capua museum. In the thirteenth century this triumphal gate was, as M. Bertaux has pointed out, a novelty, and a novelty almost scandalous. For "no Christian symbol sanctified the monument, which looked in the direction of Rome," and the scene seems to have been an apotheosis of the Emperor, audaciously designed so as to suggest an allusion to the Last Judgment. The secular judge was enthroned aloft; on his right, Pietro della Vigna looked upon the elect; on his left, the other Minister bent his brows upon the rebels. The city was almost deified. The associations of paganism were used to symbolise the triumph of the Empire. M. Bertaux is convinced that Frederick's own brain was responsible for the conception of this pagan monument.

In a monograph intended to give a broad impression of this amazing sovereign's work, we miss an account of his castles and a mention of the remarkable influence of French architecture which has been established by M. Bertaux. Mr. Allshorn has only a few perfunctory lines on the Capuan fortress, and even fewer on Castel del Monte. He does not mention the castles of Syracuse, Castrogiovanni, and Lagopesole. A reproduction of the bust of Pietro della Vigna would have been a welcome addition to his illustrations, and he might at least have called attention to the bas-reliefs representing Frederick, Yolande, and their two children, on the staircase of the wonderful ambo in the Cathedral of Bitonto, executed by an Apulian master.

J. B. BURY.

WATERLOO!

"British Battles: Waterloo." By HILAIRE BELLOC. (Swift. 1s. net)

THE centenary of the conflict which Victor Hugo called a change of front of the Universe is nearly upon us. If Europe is not engaged in another stupendous war by that time, there will be celebrations, speeches, and banquets. Much will be said, much written, and Territorials will discuss the strategy and tactics of two of the greatest soldiers ever born. They will point out their glaring mistakes, their tardiness, their false conjectures, and misguided decisions.

To everyone who wishes to join in the controversy, or even to understand what the discussion is all about, we earnestly commend Mr. Belloc's brief monograph. Let everyone before entering the society of military men, three years hence, get this little book almost by heart. Let everyone study the diagrams one by one in exact order. Let him work them out in his back garden day by day (there are only four days really to be considered), heaping up suitable undulations on the tennis lawn, cutting shallow trenches for rivers, or marking them with tapes, and representing woods with clusters of clothes-pegs stuck lightly in the turf. Then, with patches of various-colored cotton, to serve for the army-corps, divisions, or even brigades of the various nationalities engaged, he will be able to form a perfectly accurate and just conception of what really happened during the change of front of the universe at Waterloo. He will

be able to meet the military on their own ground, and possibly to defeat them. Or, failing a garden, much might be done with a large table, on which the pieces could be kept in bivouac during the nights, and at certain moments water could be sprinkled from a watering-can to serve for the terrible storms and impeding mud through which the embattled hosts of Europe once moved.

For his own sake, however far removed from men of blood, the merest layman should read a book like this for profit and instruction. It is a bracing intellectual exercise like chess, with the excitement of an immense human drama added, and all the complications of human temperament, weakness, and death. It is true, the effect of character is seen even in chess, but it is far more evident in a campaign, and on the field the pieces moved are living things. Let the directing minds of a chess-board wish to swing their knights to right or left, and the knights swing to right or left and stop where they are put. But when at the crisis of June 16th—the day which Mr. Belloc rightly calls decisive—Napoleon wanted to swing Erlon's army-corps to the right, it swung over one square on the board to the right, and then swung forward over another square to the left, and finally arrived neither to right nor left, but stopped somewhere in the middle. His knight might as well have been a castle making two silly moves forward by single squares, out of the game altogether. And then, besides, in war one has to deal, not only with human weakness and stupidity in the pieces, but with agony and fear. Perhaps, no one who has not been present in battles can quite realise what a difference such things make.

Mr. Belloc does not take much account of this element of fear, or of personal feelings and sufferings. In the scope of his work it would be impossible to include the private soldier. Like all military writers, he necessarily treats the army-corps, division, or even battalion, as a block of so much force to be turned this way or that, to be advanced or retired. In strategy, and even in tactics, men must be regarded so. The general's mind must regard them as compact bodies, capable of movement, that may dislodge compact bodies of the enemy, and no more. But in the generals themselves, Mr. Belloc makes full allowance for the human element, and therein, almost as much as in his perfect lucidity and grasp of rapidly changing situations, lies the particular value and freshness of his book.

He writes, for instance, of Ney's fury when he heard that Erlon was wheeling to his right to assist Napoleon at Ligny, and of his angry counter-order, that he should reverse the movement and resume his advance to his left to assist himself at Quatre Bras. He shows that, but for this counter-order, Napoleon, with Erlon's help, might have so defeated and demoralised the Prussians on that decisive day of the 16th, that they would have been driven in confusion far to the East (as, in fact, he and Grouchy both thought they were), instead of retiring North in good order, so as to co-operate with Wellington two days later at Waterloo. He also shows that, if Erlon had never thought of wheeling off to help Napoleon, but had continued bringing support to Ney, he would have come up in time to defeat the English at Quatre Bras, and prevent their orderly retirement to Wellington's chosen position on the gentle slope of Mont St. Jean. He rightly selects those wavering moves of the chess-board "knight," as the crisis of the brief campaign. Before that short hour or two, all was possible. Napoleon had struck where he had meant to strike—just at the point of probable juncture between the two hosts of his enemies. If he had overwhelmed either one host or the other, Waterloo could not have been fought, and, for a time, Napoleon's genius would have triumphed again. But, owing to this one mistake, neither Prussians nor English being completely overwhelmed, the two forces were able to act in co-operation, however late, on the final afternoon of Sunday, the 18th. And, commenting on this fatal error, which forms, as it were, the turning-point of his book, just as it was the turning-point of the campaign, Mr. Belloc writes:—

"Of course, if war were clockwork, if there were no human character in a commander, if no latitude of judgment were understood in the very nature of a great independent command, such as Ney's was upon that day, if there were always present before every independent commander's mental vision an exact map of the operations, and, at the same time, a plan of the exact position of all the troops upon it at any given moment—if all these arm-chair conceptions of war

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AN EXTRAORDINARY GENERAL MEETING, to consider a scheme for the amalgamation of various important interests connected with the oil industry in Galicia, and to increase the capital of the company to £3,750,000, was held on the 12th inst., at the Cannon Street Hotel, E.C. Mr. E. T. BOXALL presided, and said the negotiations had been proceeding for some months; but the interests of the company had been carefully protected, and the value of properties to be acquired had been calculated on a fair and equitable basis. If the scheme went through, the result would be to greatly enhance the value of the company's present holding, and to establish it on such a basis that in the future it must take its place among the leading oil enterprises of the world. In April last they possessed fifteen producing wells, twenty-one in course of drilling, and a very large area of undeveloped land, a portion of which had been satisfactorily proved to be oil-bearing. The production at the time of the circular in April was at the rate of 500 tons daily, and this had been maintained to the present time. This was satisfactory; but the board had felt that, in view of the favorable position of the property and the enormous possibilities for developments, they possessed the nucleus of a very important undertaking, and that they must look to the further welfare of the company.

The first consideration that influenced them in entering into these negotiations was the introduction of adequate working capital to develop further the extensive oil territory they held. They had very extensive territories, and with such a large area, containing such high-grade oil, the shareholders would have had reason to reproach the directors if they had been content to hold these valuable territories and make no effort to find the necessary working capital for the purpose of development on a proper scale. The amount of working capital provided under the scheme was £181,000, and, in addition to that, they had other resources, making the working capital at least £250,000. It was felt that this was ample for present requirements and energetic development. Another result of the scheme would be that they would have an increased profit on the crude oil. Possessing, as they would, four refineries with a capacity of 170,000 tons of crude oil yearly, it would be seen that they would be able to realise full market price for that quantity. What seemed to him a favorable criticism on the scheme was that none of the contracting parties were really satisfied with the terms on which they would enter the combine. He thought, however, that a fair compromise between the many interests involved had been arrived at after very prolonged negotiations. Under the present arrangement, it was proposed that the whole of the properties included in the combine would accrue for profit as from May 1st this year. With reference to the issue of preference shares, these had been placed without commission, and as they felt that, under the new arrangement, these preference shares would be very attractive, they stipulated that a portion of the purchase price for the refineries and other properties should be payable either in cash or preference shares, and that the privilege of subscribing for a portion of this issue should be given to the existing shareholders of the Premier Oil and Pipe Line Company.

Each shareholder would have the right to subscribe for one preference share for every three ordinary shares now held. The right must be exercised within ten days after the confirmatory meeting. In summarising the benefits of the scheme, the chairman emphasised the following points:—Firstly, economy in administration; and he thought that item should prove very considerable. Secondly, the development, on a large scale, of the very valuable oil territories held by the company, and also those to be brought into the combine. Thirdly, the completeness of the organisation provided in the amalgamation, which included the production of crude oil, control of a large number of pipe-lines and storage tanks, the refineries for dealing with their own oil, and obtaining the benefits of all intermediate profits on the manufacture and sales of by-products. And, lastly, the importance of possessing distributing organisation such as that controlled by the Deutsche Erdöl Gesellschaft. They considered that, under the scheme, they would possess at least seventy-three wells producing and in course of drilling, so that they might reasonably anticipate in a very short time a greatly increased production, and consequent larger profits. For the further protection of ordinary shareholders, it had been provided in the Articles that the amount carried to reserve in any one year should not be less than 10 per cent., or more than 20 per cent., of the net profits earned.

After some criticism, to which the Chairman replied, the resolutions approving the scheme were carried.



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were true, then Ney's order would have been as undisciplined in character and as foolish in intention as it was disastrous in effect."

So in all campaigns we have the personal element combining with "the fog of war" to distract all calculation. In this Waterloo campaign, the fallacies of the fog of war were sometimes almost ludicrous. Within little more than a week of the final battle, Blucher wrote that he might be kept inactive for a whole year. Within four days of it, Wellington wrote that he intended to take the offensive at the end of the month. Napoleon, though better informed, did not realise the full strength of either of the forces opposed to him, both at Ligny and Quatre Bras. But the classical instance of fog is Grouchy's error in regard to the Prussian retreat after Ligny. It was not till the evening of the next day (Saturday, the 17th) that he began to discover that some of the Prussians, at all events, had retired northward to Wavre. During that night he found that all Blucher's army had really taken that route, and he concluded they were retreating upon Brussels. It never occurred to him that Blucher might swing to the West and unite with Wellington long before Brussels was reached. Actually, just before noon on Sunday the 18th, when the final conflict at Waterloo was on the point of beginning, he wrote to Napoleon for instructions as to how he should open his attack of the next day. "The next day! Monday!" Mr. Belloc exclaims. It is pitiful. In the history of war there can hardly be a more pitiful letter than that.

The Week in the City.

	Price Friday morning, June 7.	Price Friday morning, June 14.
Consols	76½	76½
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THERE has been no excitement in the City since last week, but a good deal of interest has been elicited by the Marconi report—a natural result of the extraordinary speculation which has taken place in the shares during the last two years. From 1908 to 1910 the Ordinary Shares went up and down from about 6s. to 18s. in value. In 1911 they fluctuated from about 14s. to over £3. This year they have jumped from £3 2s. 6d. to £9 15s., and, after a sharp drop, are now standing at £6. A great deal of money must have been made by this boom, but considerable sums have also been lost, and several firms in Dublin have failed through over-speculation. For the year 1911 the Directors had paid altogether a dividend of 17 per cent. on the Cumulative Preference Shares and 20 per cent. on the Ordinary Shares, which is the first dividend that has been paid on the Ordinary. For the current year there is an interim dividend of 7 per cent. on the Preference and 10 per cent. on the Ordinary. At the present price of 6 the Ordinary yields just over 3 per cent., and at the price of 5½ the Preference yields about 3½ per cent. One of the chief grounds for confidence is that a satisfactory bargain has been made with the Postmaster-General for the construction of wireless stations in this country; and there is no doubt that the lessons of the "Titanic" disaster have given a stimulus to wireless telegraphy.

MONEY AND TRADE.

The reduction in the German Bank Rate from 5 to 4½ per cent. has not made banking experts in England or America feel entirely easy as to the position in Berlin, where very severe pressure is expected at the end of the half-year. Moreover, Thursday's Bank return shows that there is not much margin, and the tendency of money and discount rates is consequently firm. The improvement in gilt-edged stocks in the Foreign Market, which had been hoped for when the speculative fever passed away, has not

yet been realised. The investing public is still inclined to prefer high yield to perfect security. Moreover, the huge and increasing expenditure of all civilised countries, is extending the supply of gilt-edged securities at a rapid, perhaps a dangerous rate, and certainly at a rate which makes absorption very difficult without a further contraction and depreciation of values. However, the market will probably have its usual rest during the summer holidays, and if only labor and capital can settle down, British trade and finance may look forward to a fresh run of prosperity. Our best customer, India, is in a highly flourishing condition, and appears likely to draw more gold before long from the London market. Moreover, the fears of a financial crisis in Australia as the result of drought have been unexpectedly removed by sudden and abundant rains, which will give confidence and enterprise to this important customer, and will ensure good supplies of wool in the coming year. New Zealand is also prosperous, though it has to borrow in London for the battleship which its Government has generously presented to the Mother Country.

LUCCELLUM.

The People's Refreshment House Association, Limited, of Broadway Chambers, Westminster, which was founded by the Bishop of Chester and Col. Craufurd in 1896, the pioneer of the Public House Trust system, is offering for public subscription 10,000 £1 shares and £15,000 4 per cent. Loan Stock. The Association controlled 99 licensed inns at the end of 1911, and has since added eight more, making a total of 107. The "P.R.H.A." has just issued a list of inns, with particulars of lodging accommodation, and notes on the reformed system, which can be obtained gratis on application. The assets of the Association, which were £4,000 in 1900, are now £86,000, and the maximum dividend of 5 per cent. has been paid regularly since 1899, while £3,600 has been placed to Reserve, and £1,012 allotted to Public Utility Fund out of surplus profits.

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